

Koby Peyer's Publications

Chapter 3

(composite to
chapter 3)

Chapter

43

TRAVEL IN MANY LANDS

No. 76

One of my supreme privileges has been travel in thirty-five countries on four continents, journeys which carried me a million miles, ~~and~~ across an ocean twenty-times, ^{and to all our states.} ~~in youth we went from Texas~~ ^{two} to California to Colorado to Louisiana. Then ~~two~~ trips from Houston to Wisconsin, Houston to Nebraska ~~to~~ New York, and Houston to Iowa and Wisconsin.

Upon leaving the ~~Philadelphia~~ Morgan Park church, I went directly to New York, and obtained ~~a~~ a room at the West Side Association. The office of the International Committee was then at 124 East 28th Street, and soon I was introduced to John R. Mott, Richard C. Morse, and a score of other leaders whose names I had known. The stenographic work with Sherwood ~~was~~ congenial, and took me frequently to Forest Hills - where I saw Big Bill Tilden win the national tennis championship from Little Bill Johnson. From the first moment I was warmed ¹⁴ drawn to Mrs. Eddy, and formed the judgment, which I still hold, that she was a saintly person. I came to know their daughter Margaret, their son Arden, and Mother Eddy, who was an individual of amazing zest and vitality.

In one of our early conversations, Sherwood ~~indicated~~ warned me that he expected me to be ready to shine his shoes - and quickly added that

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he would be ready to shine mine. After finishing dictation one morning, he paused for a moment and asked me, "Did you ever notice how men around here get their hair cut?" And when I replied no, he said, "Why don't you take a good look?" The hint was sufficient and ~~I abandoned~~ my Western style of long, curly hair, ^{was abandoned.} From the beginning he was frank with me and expected me to be so with him. In order to be able to help him when he was exhausted, I went to the Hotel Biltmore for a body massage and a little instruction in how to do it.

Many opportunities came to me. I went with Sherwood to the International Convention ~~at the~~ at Cleveland, and heard many outstanding speakers. On Sundays I listened to the great preachers of New York City - Jowett, Cadman, Jefferson, Parkhurst, Woelfkin, Fosdick, Coffin, Wise. Much inspiration came from a visit to the Northfield Student Conference, ~~where the very same spirit of Dwight L. Moody~~ ^{was pervasive.} ~~where the very same spirit of Dwight L. Moody~~ ^{was pervasive.} Conference, ~~and preached~~ the ~~same~~ spirit of Dwight L. Moody.

Four months after I arrived in New York, we sailed on July 29th for England. Harold Gray was my cabin mate. He had finished two years at Harvard, and was to become one of ^{my dearest} ~~the warmest~~ friends. ~~I have ever had.~~ Later he went to prison as a conscientious objector, and to inland China as a missionary, before founding a cooperative farm near Saline, Michigan. One of our first experiences upon landing was a visit to the student conference at Swanick, which is something like our Lake Geneva, Silver Bay and Asilomar conferences. I slept on a long sack filled with straw in a tent with nineteen Irishmen from Dublin and Belfast, ^{and again} ~~I~~ was impressed with the spiritual power generated in these student conferences.

I accompanied ^{Sherwood} ~~Mr. Eddy~~ as he began a tour of the war camps in Wales, Scotland and across England. Both of us wore British ^{Y.M.C.A.} uniforms. Our old rambling automobile was driven by Miss Sidney, and at night we proceeded without the benefit of headlights, because of wartime restrictions

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against outdoor lighting. We saw the beautiful landscapes of Wales, Scotland and England as we could not have done from the train. My amazement at Sherwood's power over audiences grew as I heard him night after night. He encouraged me to engage in personal conversations with soldiers, and soon I was sent to address meetings ~~of soldiers~~ in war huts. Near Canterbury we were awakened one night by the shrieking of sirens, as a warning that a Zeppelin raid was in process. Later we saw a Zeppelin brought down in flaming ruins over London. In the course of our moving about the British Isles, ^{we} ~~I~~ visited many of the famous sights.

A memorable experience came when Sherwood dictated a book to me in a single day! For weeks he had been speaking on the significance of suffering, and gathering material for a book which he called Suffering and the War. One Sunday morning he began dictating at an early hour, and by night had completed the rough draft of the book, which was published in England and in the United States, and had a wide circulation.

This constant contact with soldiers and endless conversations with them raised in my mind serious questions about the righteousness of war. ~~was raised~~ For the first time I had to face the problem in the light of my Christian convictions. Although the war broke out in the summer before my senior year at the university, I cannot recall any conversations about the ethics of war. We were strongly favorable to the Allied cause and assumed that Great Britain and France were compelled by Germany's aggression to take up arms. I had never given serious consideration to Christian pacifism, although, of course, ~~I~~ was vaguely opposed to war. Sherwood soon discovered that I was leaning in that direction, and opened the way for me to talk with eminent religious leaders. I discovered that two members of our party felt the way I

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did, so Harold Gray and Maxwell Chaplin and I talked long and earnestly about the right course for us to take. All ^{was received} ~~so received~~ much help from Henry Hodgkin, Quaker physician and one of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and from Miss Maude Royden, influential minister. At the end of three months, my mind was easy, as the Quakers say, and from that time until the present moment I have never wavered in my conviction that the way of war is so contrary to the way of Jesus that I should never consent to it or become a combatant. I began writing down my conclusions, and five years later my manuscript was published, after it had been revised and ~~re~~typewritten nineteen times. over

Upon returning to New York, I hastened to Texas, where Alma and the boy were staying with her mother. Then we had a wonderful week with mother, Mr. Murry, and Perry, who upon returning from the Navy had joined them, and was helping with farm work. Alma, Kirby Jr. and I went to New York, for five glorious months before I sailed with Sherwood for the war zone. During this period he was speaking in all parts of the country, and I was kept busy in the office. ~~My Sundays were given to a mission church in Ridgewood Heights, Brooklyn.~~

My cabin mate on the voyage ^{in 1917} ~~was~~ Maxwell Chaplin, whom I had met the summer before in the war zone and who was now the leader of a Princeton delegation going over to serve in the various ^{war} ~~huts~~ huts. On the ocean I began an intimate friendship with Henry Hitt Crane, which has been deepening through these forty years. As we came into the area most vulnerable to German submarines, ^{for two nights} we slept with our clothes on. ~~for two nights~~. A gentleman in Philadelphia had been generous enough to provide Mr. and Mrs. Eddy and myself with special life-saving suits, sufficiently buoyant to keep one afloat for days. Then in broad daylight

I am not a doctrinaire pacifist. My position was not reached through philosophical absolutism. My unequivocal opposition to war comes from

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my conviction that the method of war is always contrary to the way of Jesus. My opposition to racial segregation is not doctrinaire, nor is my rejection of capital punishment. My position has often been caricatured as absolutist. It is correct to say that I am an absolute pacifist if by that is meant I repudiate the way of war.

a siren shrieked its warning that a submarine had been sighted. I rushed out on deck and there it was in plain sight. In my excitement I did not notice ^a the ship's gun, and when it fired ~~it~~ jumped plenty high, as the torpedo came toward us and missed by mere yards. Afterward I thought of my life-saving suit in the cabin.

We landed at Bordeaux, traveled through beautiful France to Paris, and across the channel to London. Our group was given a reception by the Lord Mayor, and an address of welcome by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, son of Queen Victoria. In those days Americans were welcomed in England. I spoke almost every night to soldiers from the British Isles and the dominions. On July 4th ^{came} ~~came~~ the biggest air ^{on London} raid of the war, ~~on London~~. ~~At~~ During the middle of the morning I was standing by a window in the Thackeray Hotel, across from the British Museum, when I heard the sound of anti-aircraft guns. I ~~at~~ rushed to the street, looked up, and there a mighty battle was raging in the air. ~~When I was standing in the middle of the street, gazing into the sky in open-mouthed astonishment, almost oblivious to what was going on about me.~~ On the table before me now is a piece of shell that fell on the roof of the Thackeray and rolled into the alley. At Brighton I had ~~made~~ a long and memorable visit with Gipsy Smith, the famous evangelist. The response to my own message turned my thoughts to a permanent career as an evangelist, and I wrote to Alma that "nothing short of direct evangelism will ever satisfy me now."

↑
For a short time I was in charge of a Y. M. C. A. ^{in France} hut [^] behind the Verdun front, within sound of the guns, indeed within artillery range, and air raids were frequent.

Because the Germans captured Riga and shut off the ~~Russian~~ Siberian Railway, we had to cross the Atlantic, the United States, and the Pacific in order to reach China for Sherwood's great evangelistic campaign there.

We traveled across the Atlantic with Samuel M. Shoemaker, later to serve in China and to become a famous rector in New York and Pittsburgh, and Evan ~~Burke~~ Thomas, brother of Norman and soon to be a medical specialist. Sam, Evan and I held strong pacifist convictions, and we labored earnestly to convince Sherwood of the soundness of this position. We landed in New York on Sunday morning. I went at once to the office and hurried to the file ^{sent} to see if any word had been ~~cabled to me~~ about the coming of our second child. ^{Yes,} There was a copy of a cablegram which ~~has not been delivered,~~ ^{had not been received,} announcing the arrival of Mary, two weeks before.

We arrived at Yokohama at the end of January, 1918. Leaving the steamer, I traveled by rail nine hundred miles across Japan to Nagasaki, where I ~~embarked on the ship~~ joined our ship. Kyoto ^{an} I saw the principal sights in Tokyo, and in ~~Sakagami~~ ^S old Drake friend, Rex Cole, showed me the wonderful old temple. ~~in Kyoto~~ Enroute I passed through Hiroshima, of course, without a flicker of realization that two of these cities were fated for destruction by ^{atomic} ~~atomic~~ bombs.

Mr. Eddy's campaign in China was not a solo affair. A large team traveled with him, about ^{twenty} ~~twenty~~ members in all, including Ding Li Mei, the foremost Christian evangelist in China; Frank N. D. Buchman, later to become famous as leader of the Oxford Group Movement and of Moral Rearmament; Sherry Day, Howard Walter and others. The tour took us from south to north and far into the interior. ~~In Canton~~

~~the~~ meetings were attended by leading men of the province - Sun Yat-sen, Wu Ting Admiral Ching, ~~Wu Ting~~ Fang, editors, college presidents, bankers, merchants, students. ~~Four days before his assassination, Admiral Ching had granted us an interview.~~

To watch Sherwood in action with an interpreter was an experience. They moved as one person, rapid fire short sentences, identical gestures, and equal fervor in delivery. Through an interpreter he had almost unequalled power to convince the mind, stir the emotions, and move the will, with the result that many outstanding men made the decision to

In Canton huge meetings were attended by leading men of the province - Sun Yat-sen, Admiral Ching, Wu Ting Fang, editors, college presidents, bankers, merchants, students. We had an impressive ^{interview} ~~talk~~ with Sun Yat-sen, talking about militarism and pacifism and the future of his land. In a letter to friends, I quoted him as saying, "The greatest menace ^{to} in the world would be militarize China." The ~~Paragraph~~

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In my travels I have tried to gain insight into social conditions in various lands, and have sought interviews with leaders of thought and action. One of the most impressive of these conversations was with Sun Yat-sen in Canton in 1910. The record of his life appears as a success story in fiction. Beginning as ^a coolie, he became the first President of ^{China.} ~~the Republic of China.~~ He was educated in mission schools, and became a Christian. ^{After} ~~He was~~ ^{ing} graduated from medical college ^{he} ^{d medicine} and practice for a short time. Revolutionary action was his real life work. For sixteen years as an exile he carried on propaganda with Chinese in many lands and obtained much money for the revolutionary cause. When kidnapped by the Chinese Legation in London, he received worldwide publicity ^{and was released.} Thereafter he became the most prominent of Chinese revolutionists, and when converging forces brought about the collapse of the monarchy, ^h a cablegram invited him to return to his homeland and become ^{first} President of the Chinese Republic. ^{after} Shortly ~~that~~ his ~~inauguration~~ inauguration on January 1, 1912, with the hope of unifying the country, he resigned in favor of Yuan Shi-kai. When civil war broke out, Sun Yat-sen fled to Japan and remained ⁱⁿ an exile for three years. During the closing ^{period} ~~years~~ of his life he received great acclaim as public speaker and writer. After his death ^{in 1925,} at the age of fifty-eight, his tomb became a national shrine. Quickly a Sun Yat-sen cult spread across the land, and from the grave he exercised influence beyond anything he had achieved while ^{in the flesh.} ~~alive.~~ It has been said that "he was a patriot of unique purity of purpose."

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enter the Christian life and become members of the Christian church. Many meetings were addressed on the same day by members of the party. My work was primarily that of business manager, ~~of the party~~, and keeping up with Sherwood's correspondence. But my report letters show that I did much speaking also, ~~in~~ in English and through a Chinese interpreter. I wrote to Alma, "It is an amazing fact that at times I actually forgot all about the interpreter, automatically stopping for him to interpret without being conscious of the break."

We went up the Yangtse as far as from New Orleans to Chicago, and found Changsha under martial law. ~~We saw~~ Streams of civil war refugees were fleeing into Changsha from a nearby city which had just been looted and burned. Indeed, we found all China in confusion and disorder, less than seven years after the establishment of the ~~Chinese~~ Republic. Our journey was marked by a series of dramatic events - in Canton was the assassination of Admiral ~~Ching~~ Ching, four days after we had interviewed him; in Hongkong the grandstand at a race track collapsed and caught fire, ^{burning} to death several hundred prominent citizens; in Swatow we felt one of a series of earthquakes, that killed several thousand people; in Peking and Tientsin hundreds of thousands were homeless as the result of floods; in Nanking there was ^a ~~the~~ deadly plague which caused the entire city to be shut off ^{from} ~~from the outside world~~ outside communication for a period just prior to our arrival; in Shanghai the foreign reserves were called out to quell riotous strikers; at Hankow a river steamer sank just before we arrived, with three hundred drowned. Everywhere lawless bandits on land, and pirates on sea, were preying upon the helpless and undefended. As one prominent official said, "There is not a single spot in China today where property and life are not in danger." In later days, recollections of these ^{conditions} ~~experiences~~ helped us to understand why the Communists so easily took over control of China.

In Nanking I had a long talk with Dr. W. E. Macklin, veteran Disciples missionary. During his decades in China, he had observed more substantial changes than had occurred in many preceding generations. In his early days wearing of the que by Chinese men was universal, and all Chinese women had their feet bound. These practices were being abandoned, but ~~in 1918~~ many men who came to our meetings were still wearing the que. Six years earlier a member of the National Assembly had declared, "I had rather lose my head than my que." Most Chinese of the women we saw, who had passed the age of twenty, had their feet bound. Dr. Macklin went with me to the long rows of crumbling examination cells of the old classical education system, four feet wide, four feet deep and six feet high. For two thousand years they had been used to select men ~~men~~ for the civil service, and had been abolished as late as 1905. As many as ~~27,000~~ *twenty-seven thousand* candidates annually had taken the examinations in Nanking, but only three hundred could receive the coveted degree. ~~in~~ The ancient wall of Nanking was crumbling, but nineteen years previously, Fletcher Brockman had found the city gates locked when he and his family arrived ^{by steamer} at midnight in a cold drizzle, and had to remain outside the ~~high~~ sixty-foot wall until daylight. The new age in China had begun with the reform measures of 1902, sixteen years before my arrival, so it is not surprising that much of old China was still visible.

Within a decade after the death of the Emperor and the Empress Dowager in 1908 there had emerged a student class and "an intellectual ferment such as the nation had not known since the time of Christ." *At the beginning of the century,* In 1900 Fletcher Brockman, who had been sent to China by the Y. M. C. A. *said,* especially for work among the educated classes, ~~and even then that~~ "My work for the literati seemed ~~equally~~ impossible." By the time of our visit ~~it~~ it could be written, "At last that fabric which had so far been impermeable was crumbling."

Thus it happened that Sherwood Eddy appeared on the scene exactly at the right moment. His first evangelistic campaign had been held *ten years* ~~a decade~~ *eleven years* previously, and now this was his ~~fourth~~ *fourth* nation-wide tour in China. The *power* ~~success~~ of these meetings was beyond the dreams of an earlier decade. He gave a personal message and presented the social gospel, going from *individual* ~~the personal~~ need of ~~the~~ *individual* to the national plight, ~~of China~~ *country*. Christ was offered as the means of salvation for men and for ~~the nation~~ *the nation*. With fervor and *brought* eloquence Sherwood ~~taught to bring~~ conviction of sin and commitment to the new way of life. Frank Buchman was unequalled in personal work with individuals, and his contribution to the campaign was substantial.

In Peking I renewed an old friendship with Sam Shoemaker, ^{under the stars} and slept out ~~in the open~~ in a Buddhist monastery nearby. In Foochow I stood beside the graves of the missionary martyrs, and noticed especially those of the four members of the Stewart family and that of Miss Saunders. Three of the Stewart children escaped, and were sent to England. After ~~at~~ their education was completed, they returned to China. We saw them in Hongkong, giving themselves ^{sharing with} in joyous ~~service~~ to the people who had killed father and mother, brother and sister. The mother of Miss Saunders immediately went to China, aged though she was, to give her life in service there.

While crossing the Bridge of Ten Thousand Ages in Foochow, suddenly I ^{confronted} ~~came face to face with~~ a man whose nose was entirely eaten away, leaving a hole in the middle of his face. Several times we saw wandering bands of lepers. Everywhere was poverty and degradation beyond ~~dis~~cription. From missionaries we received insight into the appalling needs of the people. Sight and sound and smell brought cumulative evidence.

After traveling six thousand miles inside China, we went to ~~Mandchuria~~ Manchuria and on to Korea, where Sherwood held successful meetings, in spite of restrictions ^{imposed} ~~opposed~~ by the Japanese rulers. We had expected to return by way of the Siberian Railway, but disturbed conditions made this impossible. Thus for the second time our efforts to enter Russia were frustrated. We came back by the Pacific, and soon I was with Alma and the children after an absence of five months. She ^{help with family finances.} had been doing stenographic work, in order to ~~take care of their living expenses and to help us climb out of debt.~~

~~After returning to the United States~~

in 1918

When my first visit to China was ~~concluded~~ concluded, ~~and~~ ^{upon} ~~after~~ after landing, I hurried to Houston. While there a wire came from Sherwood that he was sailing for the war zone, but that it would be impossible for me to accompany him because of a recently adopted rule that no pacifists would be used by the Association. This brought to an end some months sooner than I had anticipated my period of service as his secretary. Alma and I had plunged heavily in order that I might have this experience, and now that it was over we felt that our high hopes ~~ambitions and expectations~~ had been surpassed. It would be difficult even to imagine privilege beyond what had been actual experience. Alma's spirit throughout was simply marvelous. For twenty-eight months I had been away from home much of the time, at a period when a father is urgently needed. Of course, we ~~could not~~ ^{future travel and} ~~foresee the future~~ and had no intimation of the warm friendship with Sherwood we were to maintain for these forty years.

For a few months I then served as secretary to John R. Mott. On two previous occasions he had invited me to become his secretary, but I had ~~preferred~~ chosen to remain with Sherwood. Almost unequalled was John R. Mott's capacity for sustained work, and

^{in 1918}
~~For a few months I served as secretary to John R. Mott. On two~~
~~previous occasions he had invited me to become his regular secretary,~~
~~but I had preferred to remain with Sherwood Eddy. Almost unequalled~~
~~was Dr. Mott's capacity for sustained work, and he expected those~~
 about him to be ~~the~~ tireless in zeal. Tall ~~and~~ and of massive build,
 with leonine head and bushy brows, he was one of the most impressive
 individuals I have known. As a speaker before student audiences, he
 had few equals. For fifty years he was the leading figure in the
 World's Student Christian Federation, the Student Volunteer Movement,
 the International Missionary Council, and the Young Men's Christian
 Association. More than any other person, he was the father of the
 modern ecumenical movement, and was so honored at the founding of the
 World Council of Churches. No other man of his time knew intimately
 so many of the world's leaders in religion, education, business,
 finance and government. The first letter he dictated to me was a
 long one to President Woodrow Wilson, and his correspondents ~~was~~ ^{included}
^{distinguished}
~~with famous~~ men in many lands and walks of life. His personal
^{centered in}
 religious life ~~rested upon the unshakable foundations of~~ the presence
 of the living Christ and the power of intercessory prayer. Countless
 times he quoted the words of William Carey, "Expect great things from
 God, and attempt great things for God." He had deep capacity for
 friendship, and I shall never forget our last conversation when he
 was eighty-five. To have worked with this great man of faith
 and action was one of the supreme privileges of my life.

13 A

in 1921

Immediately after leaving the Ridgewood church and beginning my independent work, I sailed for England with a group assembled by Sherwood. This proved to be the first of annual Seminars which he led to Europe until the eve of World War II, and again in postwar years. It was my privilege to be with the Seminar ^{five} ~~six~~ times, and to make the voyage to ~~the British Isles~~ the British Isles a total of eight times. ⁵
The Seminar was not a tourist party. It was composed of thoughtful men and women who were seeking insight into social conditions in the countries visited. Personally, I was preparing myself for an independent career of evangelism, personal and social. For several years I had been engaged in hard study, wide reading of newspapers, periodicals and books in the fields of religion, economics, politics and social relations. For weeks before sailing with the first Seminar I had concentrated on

volumes about England, especially about the labor movement and Labor Party. We carried a trunkful of books on the ship and spent many hours in group discussion of the problems we were to investigate. During the five summers I was with the Seminar the combined membership ^{of two} ~~of two~~ hundred ^{and sixty} ~~and sixty~~ persons included Reinhold Niebuhr, Bromley Oxnam, Henry Pitney Van Dusen, Ellen Pendleton, William Scarlett, Charles D. Williams, Fletcher Brockman, Eugene E. Barnett, ^{Patrick Murphy Malin,} Sidney D. Gamble, Eduard C. Lindeman, Louise Gates, William Orville Mendenhall, Ernest F. Tittle, Anne Guthrie, Charles Clayton Morrison, Paul Hutchinson, William E. Sweet, Florence E. Allen.

Our sessions in London were held in Toynbee Hall, a social settlement in East London. Its warden, James J. Mallon, had arranged a program of addresses by an unparalleled galaxy of speakers. Following each presentation, we were permitted to ask questions. First to address us was Ramsay MacDonald, who because of his pacifism had lost his seat in the House of Commons, but ~~who~~ was destined to be three-time Prime Minister. Year after year we listened to Prime Ministers, cabinet members, labor leaders, industrialists, bankers, editors, educators, social workers, church leaders. These notable men and women included David Lloyd George, ^{Studdert Kennedy,} ~~Edmund Allen~~, M. G. Wells, Sidney Webb, ^{Lord Haldane,} Harold Laski, William Temple, Margaret Bondfield, R. H. Tawney, Arthur Henderson, ^{Lord Milner,} Gilbert Murray, ^{F. W. Norwood,} Maude Royden, George Lansbury, Lord Robert Cecil. ^Z The quality of the Seminar members and the eminence of our speakers combined year after year to kindle our minds and deepen our sense of responsibility.

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(2)

I had an amusing experience at a reception given by Lord and Lady Astor for our party, where we met ^{numerous} dignatories and consumed many delicacies. At the end of the evening, Bromley Oxnam and I were ^{among} the last to express our thanks to our hostess. Lady Astor exclaimed, "You must wait for one more joke. At the conclusion, in illustrating her point, she threw herself bodily into my arms - and there I stood holding the noble lady. On another occasion, we were invited to the ^{Cliveden,} country estate of Lord and Lady Astor, ^{where we talked with Field Marshall Viscount Allenby} Unforgettable was the experience of standing in a circle on the lawn, with Bernard Shaw in the center, meeting all comers with brilliant repartee.

continue (14)

and other distinguished guests.

first *the summer of*

At the time of our visit to Berlin in 1921, Adolf Hitler was in
then *such* I find no reference to him
the city. He was considered of ~~no~~ little significance that ~~was~~
~~no~~ in notes that I made, and I have ~~no~~ recollection of hearing his
name mentioned. A month later Hitler retired to Berchtesgaden, and
began writing Mein Kampf. In September he appeared again in public,
and after the Putsch of November 9th, ~~he~~ was imprisoned. How dimly
indeed were we able to foresee the future.

Sherwood Eddy, Eduard C. Lindeman and I obtained permission to visit
~~Upper Silesia, Poland, 1921~~ Upper Silesia, on the border between Poland and
Prussia. The entire district was being guarded by French, British and
Italian troops, pending the decision of the League of Nations whether it
would be awarded to Germany or to Poland. The German Foreign Office
placed two officials and two motor cars at our disposal. We motored for
nearly three hundred miles through the district, and were brought face
to face with the aftermath of war. In Dresden I sat spellbound for an hour before
Raphael's Sistine Madonna. Slipping away from the party, I went through
Austria to Verona and Milan in Italy, where I saw the original Leonardo
da Vinci's famous painting, The Last Supper. Then I went alone to the
annual Trade Union Congress in Cardiff, Wales, where I met many famous
labor leaders. An unforgettable experience was a luncheon with Robert
Smillie, the Abraham Lincoln of the labor movement.

At the end of that summer, I wrote to a friend: "Poor old Europe is going to the dogs very rapidly. It seems inevitable that millions of people are going to die as a result of lack of food and malnutrition. Germany is in an indescribable position. No great civilization in human history has ever undergone what is in store for Germany during the next few months." *This was probably an exaggeration, but as* we look backward, it is easier to understand why the German people yielded to the oratory and promises of the foreigner from Austria, who in order to become eligible for the Presidency of Germany had first to be appointed as a civil servant of a German state.

The annual itinerary included London, Berlin, Paris, Geneva, with side trips to Prague, Vienna and Rome.

~~Geneva~~

Reinhold Niebuhr,

in 1923

William Scarlett and I visited the Ruhr when it was under French armed occupation. Everywhere we encountered barbed wire, fixed bayonets, angry scowls and bitter hatred. Inflation was far advanced and almost hourly the value of the mark diminished. For a modest tip in a restaurant, we left a pile of marks that tilted the plate. Acute suffering was accompanied by venomous hatred, and life was a ~~literal~~ nightmare. I wrote home that events were driving ~~the~~ Germany toward extremism, and that "there can be only one end to the mad policy of militarism now dominant in France and elsewhere." ^{and that end was Hitlerism.} After our sobering experience in ^{and Berlin} the Ruhr, we ~~we~~ flew from Cologne to London in three hours, crossing the Channel in thirteen minutes - which would now be considered a snail's pace.

less than flying at a speed of ninety to one hundred eight miles per hour, and

15 H

At Interlaken in Switzerland, ~~then~~
Harper, John Fleck and I had
a ^{marvelous} glorious afternoon. A long
mountain walk brought us to
a cold torrent, and we
took off our clothes, ^{for} ~~and~~ ~~had~~
a swim. Then from five
until eight o'clock we sat
on a favorable knoll
and gazed upon ^{the} Jungfrau.
~~We were~~ Enthralled ^{by} ~~the~~ ^{were the tints of} the
Alpenglow. We visited Prague
in Czechoslovakia, and again
visited ^{sat in} the famous Dresden gallery,
with its gloriousistine Madonna.

(1)

71 (11)

The editor of a leading French daily gave a reception for our party, where so much champagne was served - although many of us abstained - that John Ray Ewers whispered to me, "If I take another glass of this stuff, ~~it'll~~ I'll break out in a bac^cu^{er}ate address."

(B) *IT* in 1926,

Bromley Oxnam, ~~and~~ Tully Knowles and I spent a few days in Rome, where we worshipped in St. Peters, and spent time in the Vatican gallery, being impressed especially the Madonna by Murillo, the Madonna the Magnificat by by Rafael, Botticelli, and numerous paintings by Michaelangelo, Rubens, Corregion, Del Sarto and Van Dyck. For ~~two~~ hours we were driven about the city and saw the Forum, the Colloseum, the Pantheon, and other historic sights. *IT Hindenburg*

(A) *and*
In Athens we visited the Acropolis, stood where St. Paul had preached on Mars Hill. By special permission of the ~~United~~ government, we had the glorious experience of seeing the Parthenon in full moonlight. For two hours we sat quietly, drank in the beauty, and let our memories carry us back to the golden age of Greek culture.

14 A

The annual itinerary included London, Berlin, Paris, Geneva,
with side trips to Prague, Vienna and Rome. President von Hindenberg

received a small group of us, and made an indelible impression upon
our minds.

Of advanced age, he was tall and erect, with stern unsmiling
countenance, and handshake like the grip of a vise. Engraved upon a
plaque on his desk were the words, "Work and Pray." From him we
learned no secrets of state, but he became a sharp reminder of the
danger of unreasoning loyalty to fatherland. The General was an earnest
Christian, with simple and unquestioning faith, and absolute devotion to
the Kaiser. He helped us to understand why the doctrine of the divine
right of kings had prevailed over Europe for hundreds of years. It
simply did not occur to him to refuse to lead the armies in defense of
his country and for an expansion of the power of Prussian militarism.
And since ^{this} ~~that~~ experience evidence has often been confronted that the
practice of supporting one's own government, right or wrong, in all
conflicts with other governments, has been no monopoly of the Germans.

When we arrived in Bucharest, after a long train journey and with wrinkled clothing, we were met by an official from the Foreign Office, dressed immaculately and wearing spats. ~~At the door of the~~ ^{an} evening banquet, we were offered cocktails, and not one of ~~us~~ drank anything. Our embarrassment increased as we were served with liquor, ~~after~~ ^{after} course, until our table resembled a bar. (H) (II)

16

went on to

(B) A small company of us in 1924 ~~visited~~ ^{visited} Vienna, Budapest, Bucharest, Constantinople, Athens and Belgrade. ~~Later a~~ ^{Later a} score of us visited Soviet Russia, the first Seminar to have this experience. Nine years after the Revolution, there were few American in Russia, so we received much publicity and aroused considerable curiosity. The government was eager to resume diplomatic relations with the United States, and sought to make a favorable impression upon us. Three members of our party spoke Russian, and we made the round of factories, laboratories, stores, hospitals, rest homes, churches, libraries, kindergartens, schools, prisons, art galleries, museums. We were permitted to visit the Kremlin, and joined the throngs that passed silently by the embalmed body of Lenin in a simple tomb. Although he had been dead for two and a half years, we counted as many as two thousand persons waiting in line to see his lifeless face. We spent ~~a~~ ^{hours until late at night} memorable evening with Chicherin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, ~~and~~ ^{and} Jerome Davis, ~~of our party~~, was granted a long interview with Joseph Stalin, and gave us a full report of what he said. ~~We traveled~~ ^{W OVER} far into the interior to Nishni-Novgorod and down the Volga river to Kazan, where we interviewed the President of the Tartar Republic.

~~Vivid~~ ^{brings back} recollection of a series of distressing experiences, ~~which~~ ^{which}

~~usually~~ ^{usually} Bromley, Tully and I roomed together, and soon we discovered that the beds ~~which~~ were of unequal quality. In my ignorance, I yielded to Bromley's suggestion that we pitch hats at ~~the~~ ^{the} bedpost to decide who would have first choice of beds. ~~and~~ ^{and} Every time I was doomed to the least desirable sleeping place. ~~over~~ (N)

N
At a formal breakfast we were served vodka. Charles Clayton Morrison did not recognize the contents of his glass of clear liquid, ^{and} thinking it was water, took a big gulp - and nearly exploded.

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W
The first chief of the ~~Red~~ dread Cheka told us how he saved the revolution, at a critical moment, by arming trusted workers and going from house to house, shooting down suspected counter-revolutionaries. When we asked how many were killed, he replied, "As many as we needed to."

16 A

H

In Leningrad we interviewed high officials and went the round of interesting sights, including the revolutionary museum in which is portrayed the historic struggle for freedom from the Czars. Before me now is a picture of our party in the rotogravure section of the New York Time with the fabulous crown jewels of the Czars spread out before us. ^{- guess who was in ~~an~~ exact center.} As I look at the faces in the picture I am reminded of ^{how} many guards also were seeing the jewels and watching our every move. From Leningrad, we went by boat, touching at Helsinki in Finland and Stockholm in Sweden.

Alma was with us in 1924 and again in 1929. After the program in London, she accompanied the Seminar to Paris, Geneva, Berlin and the Soviet Union. I remained in London to work on a new book and joined Sherwood, Maud and Alma in Constantinople for a continuation of a world tour. ^H An unforgettable experience enroute to Turkey was a visit to Serajevo in Bosnia, where a Serbian youth named Princip assassinated the Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, and precipitated a chain of events which led to the First World War. It gave me a queer feeling to stand on the spot where the fateful shot was fired.

For six weeks I literally lived in the British Museum library, from the moment of opening until the time of closing. I find from old notes that in searching for illustrations of nationalism, militarism and imperialism, I handled five hundred volumes, examining tables of contents, ~~and~~ reading sections, and making notes. ^{It was in}

reviewing the published volume that Paul Hutchinson wrote, in The Christian Century: over

over
"In the 350 pages there are 1,091 direct quotations or citations for which credit is given! ... Its purpose has been to gather the frantic, the foolish, the fiendish things that men think and say under the urge of the war-spirit, and to present the resulting exhibit for general reference." And once Bromley Oxnam wrote to me: "I like your splendid massing of facts... Your book reads like a lawyer's brief."

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IV VI
"Constantinople and Angora, Cairo and Jerusalem, Damascus and
Baghdad! The Nile and the Jordan, the ~~Perphar~~ and the Abana,
the Tigris and the Euphrates! What a panorama has unfolded before
last letter!" wrote
us since my ~~last letter~~ Thus I ~~begin my letter~~ to friends at the
end of 1929.

Turkey suffered disastrous defeat in the First World War, and was subjected to an army of occupation. The seizure of Smyrna by Greek forces inflamed the fires of Turkish nationalism, and after severe fighting patriotic Turks ^{recovered} ~~won~~ their independence. Two years before my earlier visit, the Nationalists had entered Constantinople, later called Istanbul, deposed the Sultan, abolished the Caliphate, and established a republic. Now we found that the Arabic alphabet had been banned, the veil for women abolished, and long steps taken to transform Turkey into a modern nation. Again we visited Robert College, and were impressed with the influence it was wielding all over the Near East.

We traveled by train thirteen hours to Angora, now called Ankara, the capital. Six years previously the seat of government had been removed from accessible Istanbul to this interior site, ^{and a} ~~a~~ primitive village was being transformed into a modern city. We had illuminating talks with leaders in government, education and religion. Then we traveled all day ~~train~~ into the heart of the interior. At Tallas we stayed for two nights with American missionaries, and were able to observe primitive village life. We saw shepherds with their flocks and ~~their~~ small ^d ~~Bequin~~ tents, and passed hundreds of camels, ~~a~~ a hundred and fifty in a single caravan. By train we made the journey through Adana and Aleppo to Tripoli in Syria, and by automobile to Beirut. We visited American University, talked with President Dodge, and exchanged reminiscences with Leland Grace Parr, old Drake friends. ^{and} ~~we~~ traveled ^{ing} ~~by~~ ^{by} car through ancient Tyre and Sidon, ^{we saw} ~~seeing~~ many people sitting on the flat roof of their houses, with the donkeys stabled below. At Haifa ~~we stayed in a~~ ^{our} ~~was~~ hotel on Mount Carmel, with a wonderful view of the Mediterranean. Below us was the river where

Elijah had his famous contest with the priests of Baal. In the distance ^{be} we could see ^{the} ~~the~~ range of hills twenty miles away where Nazareth stood. I got up at five o'clock in the morning and watched the sun rise on the plain of ~~Esdrælon~~ Esdraelon. ~~we~~ ^{as} going south from Haifa we passed the ruins of an ancient castle built by ^{crusaders.} ~~crusaders.~~ On our way to Cairo we crossed the Suez Canal in a ferry. In ^a ~~the~~ museum we saw the jewels and ornaments from the tomb of Tutankamen, several rooms being required to display them, and we marveled at the pyramids and the spinx. Alma and I went by rail to Assiut on one of the hottest days of the year. The heat and dust and sand flies made life miserable, and ^{she} ~~Alma~~ was sent to bed with chills and fever. In two and a half ~~days~~ days I spoke eight times, through an interpreter, and had four full-course turkey dinners! The Nile was at higher stage than it had been for fifty years.

"Jerusalem, oh Jerusalem," cried our Lord in distress. What ^{an unhappy} ~~glorious~~ past it had known, and how stained with blood the record of its future ~~presented itself~~ was to be! Thirty-five hundred years had passed since Hebrew tribes from Egypt ~~had~~ fought their way across the Jordan and seized Canaan. For generations the newcomers had no peace. The severity of the conflict is revealed in the ^{Holy} Book ~~of Exodus~~ where we find ~~that~~ recorded the belief of the Hebrews that Jehovah commanded them to wage ruthless ^{men, women and children,} warfar ^e against their enemies, including ~~the slaying of men, women and children until not a single soul was left alive.~~

"you must not spare a living soul; but you must be sure to exterminate them, Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivvites, and Jebusites, as the Lord your God has commanded you." ^{No} ~~It~~

for
 Palestine became a battleground ~~between~~ the armies of the great
 empires, and the Jews were subjugated by ^{Egyptians,} Assyrians, Babylonians,
~~Egyptians,~~ Persians, Greeks and Romans. After the destruction of Jerusalem
 by the Romans, and the massacre of half a million of its inhabitants,
 Palestine almost disappears from history except as the goal of
 devout pilgrims. From the seventh century onward it was ruled
 by Moslem Caliphs, Egyptian and Turkish ~~and~~ governments, and for
 a thousand years Jews in Europe were persecuted and exploited.

During the First World War, Great Britain ~~had~~ made conflicting
 promises to Jews and Arabs. After the League of Nations awarded a
 mandate to Great Britain, and placed the Jews in a favored position
 to dominate the land, Arab nationalism rose to fever heat. Just
 before we arrived serious fighting had occurred in Jerusalem. We
 had many interviews about the political situation. The Governor
 of Jerusalem and many Jewish and British leaders presented one
 side of the case, while Moslems and some Americans helped us to
 see the complexity and danger of the situation. We talked for an
 hour and a half with the Grand Mufti, head of the Supreme Moslem
 Council of Palestine, and a direct descendant of Mohammed. The
 interview took place in a room overlooking the courtyard of the
 Mosque of Omar, which had been built on the site of Solomon's
 Temple. Nearby Paul was once mobbed. The more we listened, the
~~stronger~~
~~deeper~~ our conclusion that the people of the land were victims of
 history. Jerusalem was a sacred city to Jews, Moslems and Christians
 alike. History was interpreted by ~~the~~ Jews as validating their
 claim to a homeland in Palestine, whereas history and occupation
 for a thousand years seemed to ~~the~~ Moslems to give them right to
 rule. I was gripped by the conviction that a Jewish political
 state could be established and maintained only by ~~the help of~~
 many decades of warfare. No 57

How prophetic this judgment was could not be foreseen at that hour. My mind went along with the proposal of Rabbi Judah Magnes, Chancellor of the University of Jerusalem, that the Jews abandon the effort to establish and maintain a Jewish political state, and concentrate upon making Jerusalem a spiritual and cultural center. The awful massacre of Jews by Hitler intensified determination to establish a Jewish political homeland.

In Jerusalem we stayed at the American colony, maintained by the descendants of a group which came from Chicago about 1870 to be on hand for the second coming of Christ. Brother Jacob guided us on the round of sacred places. We were deeply stirred as we stood in Bethlehem on the spot where the cradle in the manger had rested. Going down from Jerusalem to Jerico, we were not beaten by robbers. A night was spent ~~at Tiberius on the shores of Galilee,~~ ^{over} ~~at Tiberius on the shores of Galilee,~~

9/1 In half an hour
we covered the distance of sixteen miles to Nazareth. As we drew near, Sherwood and I got out of the car and began climbing the hill and down into the village. This enabled us on the following morning to find our way before daylight. At four o'clock we got ^{up} and began the climb, reaching ~~the top before daylight~~ the top in pitch darkness. In order to be alone, we separated and sat down under the vivid and friendly stars.

I was exhilarated as rarely before in my life. Soon the first streaks of dawn appeared, then the full glory of sunrise. It was an unforgettable scene. To the far north was Mount Hermon with its everlasting snow, and the hills of Lebanon. To the west the Mediterranean Sea was plainly visible. I could even watch the white sailboats on the blue waters, twenty miles away. To the southwest was Mount Carmel, where we had spent a night, and to the south was the famous plain of Esdraelon, where many of the famous battles of history had been ^{waged} ~~fought~~. Here the Hebrews had fought the

over
arose at five o'clock in the morning, sat on the bank and thought of scenes of long ago, took a swim in the clear blue water, saw the ruins of a ~~synagogue~~ synagogue which probably was built before the days of Jesus, visited the ruins of ancient Capernaum, and stood on the hill where the Sermon on the Mount may have been spoken by our Lord.

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20 A

Canaanites, the Midianites, and the Philistines. Across this plain had swept the forces of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Rome and Greece. Cleopatra, Pompey, Mark Antony and Titus all led their armies to battle in this fertile plain. Only four miles away on the top of a neighboring hill was the site of ancient Sepphoris where, during the days of Jesus, the Romans crushed a rebellion, burned the city and crucified ~~at~~ two thousand Jewish patriots. I read the Gospel of Mark and ~~contemplate~~^{saw} our Lord going about doing good.

During the ten hours of our journey by car from Jerusalem to Damascus, we were thrilled by the realization that we were on the road traveled by Saul, "breathing out threatening and slaughter" against the early Christians. From Damascus we went by automobile caravan, with a French armored car, across the Arabian desert to Baghdad, twenty-six hours ~~away~~ distant. In the middle of the night it was so cold that we were convinced that the poet had never been in such a desert, or he would not have written, "Till the sands of the desert grow cold!"

We were granted an audience by His Majesty King Feisal of Iraq. While engaged in discussion of the situation in Palestine, we were interrupted by a commotion in the garden. His Majesty's eyes flashed, he gave a sharp command, but relaxed into a smile when informed that nothing was more serious than the discomfiture of an old hen when pounced upon by King's favorite puppy. We visited the ruins of ancient Babylon, and were thrilled to stand on the crumbled ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace and see the ~~spot~~ spot where his son Belshazzar held his famous feast and received the warning of the doom of his empire. We saw the temple in which King Hammurabi had placed his renowned code of law. Previously this code had been seen in the Louvre in Paris. Not far away was the place where Alexander the Great died, and on our way to Basra, on the Persian Gulf, we passed within two miles of Ur of Chaldees. This city was hoary with age in the days of Abraham. In the museum of Baghdad and in the British Museum, we saw the marvelous collection of jewels, carvings and other objects of art only recently excavated from the ruins of Ur.

~~VII~~

We arrived in India at a critical moment. The struggle of the nationalists for ~~the~~ independence ~~movement~~ was growing in intensity. Seven years had now passed since Mr. Gandhi and thirty fellow thousand patriots had been imprisoned in a campaign of non-cooperation with the government. Great Britain was resolute in endeavoring to retain control, while ~~grudgingly~~ granting successive measure^s of self-determination. The supreme issue while we were there was that of Dominion status, whether complete freedom within the British Commonwealth should be looked upon as the goal to which many steps would lead ultimately, or whether it was to be granted immediately.

For the wide open doors we found all over India, we were indebted to Sherwood's experiences while he resided there and his contacts on subsequent visits, to the fact that Mr. Gandhi had published serially ^{twenty issues of} in his paper one of my books on war and peace, and to the word passed along by Charles F. Andrews. When Mr. Andrews was in the United States, it had been my privilege to make arrangements for him to speak in cities from New York to Denver to Tuskegee. As a British missionary he had won the confidence and affection of leaders and people alike to an unequalled degree. He had worked with Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, and in time came to be his warmest friend. For years he taught at a school conducted by the poet Rabindranath Tagore. He was a veritable Francis of Assisi in his devotion to the poor, his lack of attachment to money and to things, his loyalty to Christ, his trust in God, his serenity and radiant joy. One of my prized possessions is a letter from ~~Mr.~~ Gandhi in his own handwriting in which he expressed his affection and admiration for his English friend who had become a true son of India. At intervals through the years, I have kept on my desk a photograph of Charlie Andrews bearing an affectionate inscription.

For ^{ten}~~three~~ weeks we listened and asked questions of British, American, Hindu and Moslem leaders. ^{in Allahabad} We had dinner with Jawarharlal Nehru and his wife, and were privileged to talk unhurriedly with him about his experiences and convictions. A high caste Brahmin, nurtured in luxury, a graduate of Harrow and Cambridge, he served eight terms in British prisons because of his participation in Gandhi's program of civil disobedience. At the time we talked with him, he was an old hand at prison life, and not long afterward began another cycle of being in and out of jail. We were impressed with the nobility of his ~~staid~~ countenance, the brilliance of his mind, the fervor of his patriotism, the quality of his courage, the quiet serenity of his spirit. His autobiography has become a classic of literature, and one sentence rings in my ears, "In the ^d ~~mid~~ of strife, and while we ourselves encouraged that strife, we had a sense of inner peace." In a letter to the folks at home, ~~he~~ I made this prophecy, "The name of Jawarharlal Nehru will appear prominently in the news of India during the ~~months~~ coming months. His star is rising rapidly and soon may be shining most brilliantly of all." And now it must be said that only the ^{om} ~~om~~iscient God knows all that Jawarharlal Nehru means to the people of India and to the world.

From the Nehru home, we went directly to the Viceregal Lodge in Delhi, where we had luncheon with Lord and Lady Irwin. Then we went to his study and talked unhurriedly about the crisis. When he learned that we were on our way to see ~~Mr.~~ Gandhi, he requested us to pass on to the Mahatma the substance of ^{our} ~~his~~ conversation about the freedom of India. We were favorably impressed with the Viceroy, and felt confident that if the decision had rested in his hands, freedom of India as a dominion would have been granted without delay.

Among the exalted privileges of my life, I count the days we spent with Mahatma Gandhi at Sabarmati. We arrived at the ashram on his weekly day of silence, and talked with his friends until the hour of evening worship, when we sat in ^a ~~the~~ circle on the sand. Then we had an hour's conversation with Mr. Gandhi. At dawn we joined the circle of worship, at mealtime we sat on the floor near him ~~and observed the simplicity of~~ ~~his life~~ and during our stay of three days were privileged to talk with him on three unhurried occasions. Later we attended the Indian National Congress at Lahore, over which the Mahatma presided, and joined a small group which gathered around him on the sawdust in a nearby tent for worship at sundown. During our stay in India, ~~the~~ Gandhi was the subject of numerous conversations with Indian, British and American friends. Sherwood and ^{Maud,} ~~Wesley,~~ ^{Jim} ~~and~~ and I were in agreement, as we talked with him and listened to him at the hour of worship, that we were in the presence of ~~the~~ one of the great souls of the ages. ~~the degree to which~~ ~~his spirit directed his body, in the extent to which he had achieved~~ selflessness, in his compassion for the wellbeing of the people, in his identification with the poor, in his courageous commitment to non-violence as a way of life, in his confidence in human nature, in his conviction that goodness is mightier than evil, in his ^{capacity} ~~ability~~ to endure suffering, in his devotion to truth and the divine will, he ranks with the noblest ~~of the~~ great men of God. The impact he made upon our minds and emotions is beyond my power of telling.

24 A

In the degree to which he brought his body under the control of his spirit, the Mahatma belongs with the mystics and ascetics who trained themselves to subordinate physical desire to spiritual aspiration. Married when he was a mere child, passionate by nature, imperious in demand, he became disgusted with himself and took a vow of continence for life. For forty-two years he drove his animal nature with a tight rein. His palate was kept under complete control, and he never ate for pleasure. We had opportunity to observe the simplicity and ~~sparsity~~ ^{vegetables} sparsity of his diet - fruit and nuts and goat's milk. Gandhi was like the ascetics also in his capacity to endure suffering. When he felt the leading of God, he subjected his body to the ordeal of a prolonged fast. His abstentions from food were penances for the sins of others, for the moral lapse of a member of his ashram in South Africa, for the exploitation of the peasants, for inhuman treatment of untouchables, for ~~the~~ British denial of freedom to India and the degrading of her people, for rioters in conflicts between Hindus and Moslems. When near death and in acute pain, his spirit was triumphant and his face shone with radiant joy. In our close contacts with him, we were surprised to find that he was solemn person, not a ~~man of many moods~~, but was full of sparkle and laughter. ^{One of my prized photos is} ~~one of my prized photos is~~ a snapshot ~~of him dancing along a road, kicking up~~ ^{of him dancing along a road, kicking up} the dust, surrounded by hilarious children. ^{walking}

In his compassion for the poor and in identification with them, the Great Soul was like Saint Francis of Assisi. One of his deep passions was the liberation of the untouchables from the degradation of discrimination and segregation. He wrote of the writhings of his spirit at the sight of an outcaste throwing himself ^{abjectly} ~~in submission~~ in the dust, pleading for alms. When in attendance at the Round Table Conference, Gandhi insisted ^{inconveniently} on staying at Kingsley House in East London, far from the center of his responsibilities. Early in the morning he strolled ~~through~~ among the poor, and soon was greeted affectionately as Uncle Gandhi. For more

with Moriel Lester

24 B

than

a half century he carried the miseries of the stricken in his heart and on his shoulders. The depth of his concern hushed the call of personal appetite and ambition, and drove him tirelessly through the decades.

The Mahatma was devoted to truth, and in all his dealings was open and frank in unsurpassed degree. Often he spoke of God as Truth, and Truth as God, in the manner of Saint John's God is Love. His autobiography is entitled ~~My~~ My Experiments With Truth. He had no secrets, and some have criticized ~~him~~ the frankness of certain passages in his life story. Over the decades he never granted ~~a~~ "private" interviews. What he did and said was in the open. In the hours of our conversation with him, the little room was full of people, listening intently and making notes. Everywhere he went, he was surrounded by masses of human beings. Even his periods of worship, twice daily, were corporate. He disciplined himself to refrain from conversation ~~and silence~~ every Monday for many years, wherever he was and whatever responsibility rested upon him. Sometimes even on Monday he listened to an interviewer, and answered in short notes, in the presence of other individuals. Every time he launched a new campaign of ^{non-violent} non-cooperation with the British, he gave detailed advance notice of what he planned to do. His life was as transparent as the atmosphere in the high altitudes of the Himalayas.

In him was no evasion, deception, untruth.

Upon our arrival on Monday, he sent us a note of welcome, and invited us to talk with him when his period of silence was broken.

Mr. Gandhi's

24 C

a leader

^{great} faith in non-violence has never been matched by ~~an individual~~ with ~~high~~ responsibility in a political struggle for freedom of a people.

Leo Tolstoy talked and wrote much about passive resistance, but he devoted little energy to the task of organizing Russian peasants for ~~passive~~ ^{such} ~~opposition~~ ^{resistance} to the tyranny of the Czar and the nobles. Gandhi not only had utmost confidence in non-violence as a way of life for himself, but looked upon it as an irresistible weapon in the hands of ^{his} ~~the Indian~~ people.

The component parts of his strategy of breaking "the Satanic power" of the British Empire over India were these: do not cooperate with the evildoer in the maintenance of his tyranny; never strike back, violence for violence;

^{fill} with your heart ~~filled~~ with love, ^{end} ^{unending} manifest ^{utmost} goodwill toward the conqueror of your land; in contrast to the way, practiced from time immemorial, of inflicting pain upon your enemy, endure in your own body all the suffering he ^{heaps upon you;} ~~inflicts~~; demonstrate not only unlimited faith in the power of non-violence, but display ^{unwavering} ~~unwavering~~ trust in the capacity of your opponent to yield to its ^{tender} ~~loving~~ ^{might} might; do right, and leave

the outcome in the hands of God. To an almost incredible degree, ^{the Mahatma} ~~Gandhi~~ was able to generate this faith and power of endurance ⁱⁿ ~~to the most~~ brilliant minds ⁱⁿ and to the ^{unlettered} ~~unlettered~~ souls of peasants in remote villages.

One is made actually sick in the stomach at the written accounts of the beating down, with ^{5 ft} ~~five-foot~~, ^{11 ft} ~~steel~~ ^{bamboo} ~~tipped~~ lathis, of row after row of unarmed, unprotesting patriots seeking freedom from oppression, including column after column of tall, full-bearded, martially trained Sikhs.

^a Satyagraha, the power of non-violence, rests upon a simple conclusion: when, in hate, you inflict pain upon your enemy, you multiply hate and pain; but when you ^{in love,} ~~lovingly~~ absorb suffering ^{imposed} ~~inflicted~~ upon you, ~~goodwill~~ ^{and non-violence are multiplied,} thereby you ~~multiply~~ ^{compound}

love and non-violence. About all this we talked with Mr. Gandhi, and all over India centered our conversation in it.

from the universities

move forward with unqualified

24 D

Courage has ever been ranked among the noblest ^{of human} qualities.

~~By this test~~ By this test ~~he~~ Gandhi was a truly great man. With heart unafraid, he threw himself against the ~~armed~~ might of General Smut's government in South Africa. Without fear, ^{he took upon himself} ~~set about~~ the destruction ^{in his own land,} of the thousands-of-years old system of untouchability which doomed millions to unending misery. While we were at Sabarmati, included ^{household} in the ~~family~~ was the ^{it} adopted untouchable daughter. ~~of the family.~~

~~Without~~ Without hating and without quaking, he committed himself to ^{ending} ~~the task of~~ ^{, armed power over} ~~the overthrow of~~ Britain's mighty empire in India. And with serene daring, he walked again and again into the very jaws of death. He was sustained, not by flying banners and martial drums, but by compassion for people, ~~and~~ by affection they bestowed upon him, ^{and by the inner peace of God.}

dominion

24 E

has often been
It ~~was said~~ said that Mahatma Gandhi was a saint in politics, to
which he replied that ~~he~~ he was a politician trying to be a saint.
Religion was less compartmentalized ~~than~~ in his career than in the
activities of any other leader of modern times. He ranks with the
great patriots in his devotion to freedom. Far beyond them he goes in
confidence in the essential goodness of evil men,
love of truth, faith in the power of non-violence, capacity to endure
suffering, and sublime trust in God. When I wrote down my impressions,
the title of my little booklet ended with a question mark, Is Mahatma
Gandhi the Greatest Man of the Age? Long since that question mark has
been erased from my mind.

inherent

heroism of purest quality

he that doeth His will
of God, the Son is

The Lahore Congress was the point in Indian nationalism where the leaders finally became convinced that the British government would not or could not grant autonomous ^d Dominion status in the immediate future. We talked again with Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Nehru, and many other influential men and women, and listened to their reasons for being unwilling to continue under British rule for an indefinite period.

~~London~~ Late one afternoon, Sherwood and I were seated on the front row, when a friend handed us a note from Mr. Nehru ^{saying that Mr. Gandhi} ~~inviting us to~~ go out with Mr. Gandhi for evening prayer. In a nearby tent we sat in a circle on the sawdust and prayed together for half an hour. Within a few weeks the policy of non-cooperation was resumed, and many of our friends were behind prison bars.

In Allahabad, Alma and I stayed with Sam Higginbottom and his wife, and were greatly impressed with their experimental farming, training ^{high} ~~his~~ caste boys to do manual labor, and their work with lepers. A memorable experience was our trip to Agra to see the famous Taj Mahal, often spoken of as the most beautiful of all human structures. In the home of an Indian labor leader, we sat on the floor for a simple meal, served on ^a ~~banna~~ leaves, and talked about economic conditions. ~~In most places we stayed with missionaries and profited from their knowledge and experience.~~

would sleep
at the
evening
session.
At sundown
we went
with the
Mahatma
to evening
prayer

12 A

Alma and I accompanied ^{Sherwood and Maud} to China.

In 1930 ~~I returned to China with Sherwood~~. Momentous changes had taken place in the intervening years. Seven years earlier Sun Yat-sen's insurgent government in Canton had turned to Soviet Russia, and fateful indeed was the mission of Michael Borodin and the sowing of the seeds of Communist China. When Chiang Kai-shek succeeded ^{Sun Yat-sen} as head of the Kuomintang, Borodin was banished and the Communists were ruthlessly suppressed. Chiang Kai-shek was inaugurated as president of China in 1928 and succeeded in more nearly ~~un~~ uniting the country than it has been for a decade. This proved to be a temporary lull. Banditry prevailed widely, the northern war lords revolted, and the Communists engaged in guerrilla warfare. The Manchurian authorities raided the Soviet consulate in Harbin, and reprisals were taken by the Russian government.

In Nanking, Sherwood and Maud, Alma and I were invited to dine with President and Madam Chiang Kai-shek. She was vivacious and charming, while he was ^a grim and taciturn fighting man. ~~He was a grim and taciturn fighting man. He was a grim and taciturn fighting man.~~ What momentous changes he had witnessed, and what stark tragedies were to sweep over his land! He was destined to spend his years in waging war, against Chinese bandits and war lords, against the invading Japanese, against Communist armies. His hold upon the people of China was fatally weakened by his identification with a rich and privileged minority, while he showed little concern for the welfare of the masses. The national and provincial governments reeked with graft and corruption. The future was hidden from us that evening, and we lacked vision to ^{behold} ~~see~~ our host and hostess as lonely and frustrated exiles on Formosa.

The four of us were together for Sherwood's campaigns in Hongkong, Canton and Nanking, and did not meet again until the end of the China tour. I did much more speaking than on the earlier trip, ~~two~~^{or} three times daily, and learned to be at home with an interpreter. Alma and I had twelve days in Shanghai, where I spoke twenty-seven times. In Nanking ~~we~~^{we} were given a feast by Wang Chung Hui, a Judge of the World Court, and had interviews with distinguished leaders, including C. T. Wang, T. V. Soong, Sun Fo, and five hours with Hu Shih, the greatest living Chinese scholar. Alma and I went far into the interior to Hankow, Wuchang and Changsha, where I had an ~~amazing~~^{exciting} experience. A special meeting had been arranged by the governor of the province, with eighteen hundred present in the new Sun Yat-sen Hall, where the acoustics were terrible. People came and went throughout my address. Many were talking at the top of their voices. A man would ~~hear~~ see a friend ten rows away, would ^a rise and exclaim, "Oh, so you've come. Have you had ^y our food?" The bottoms of the seats were equipped with springs which ~~impelled~~ them upward as one stood. ~~was~~ The result was a series of machine-gun-like reports throughout the meeting. This ~~will~~^{most} be rated as one of my most difficult speaking experiences.

Extreme social disorder, banditry, and civil war, made it impossible for us to go directly to Tientsin by rail from Hankow. Instead, Alma and I went by river steamer to Shanghai and by ~~by~~ boat up the coast. From Peiping we traveled twenty-two hours to Mukden, and I went alone another twelve hours to Harbin, in northern Manchuria, near the Russian border. There I had interesting interviews, saw the sights, and attended the Good Friday service in the Russian Orthodox Cathedral. I did not speak Chinese

This was my second effort to visit the Philippines. On our way from Shanghai in 1918 our steamer was disabled and had to turn back, and there was not sufficient time to make a later sailing before Sherwood's great China campaign began. We were able to talk with Quezon, Osmena, Aguinaldo, and many other political leaders. Everywhere we encountered the independence movement, and we were more than ever convinced that the United States should grant immediate freedom, with a policy of continuing economic cooperation until the new nation had achieved stability.

~~VIII~~ VII

On our way to the Philippines we touched at Colombo in Ceylon and at Singapore. We had a busy round of interviews and a heavy program of speaking in Manila. Outstanding were our conversations with Manuel L. Quezon, president of the Senate; ~~and~~ with Aguinaldo, leader of the armed action against the United States force; and with Governor-General Davis. The most frequent subject of conversation was freedom for the Philippines, for which we had long been working, and our convictions were deepened by what we heard and saw.

The Prime Minister of Japan received us, and we had ^{interviews} ~~conversations~~ with Prince Tokugawa, several cabinet members, and with the American Ambassador. ~~My conversation with Toyohiko Kagawa~~ We talked several times with Toyohiko Kagawa, heard him preach, and had many conversations about him. No FT

A visit to the home of Viscount Shibusawa proved to be one of the outstanding experiences of the year. The Grand Old Man of Japan was ninety years of age, and had been a participant and spectator during the entire period of Japan's emergence from a feudal society to a modern industrial nation. The Viscount was in a reminiscent mood and related some of his experiences as a boy of fourteen when Commodore Perry knocked at the doors of hermit Japan. Fifty-one years previously he had been chairman of the reception committee which welcomed President Grant to Tokyo.

My recollection of Toyohiko Kagawa stands out vividly. We had ~~several~~ ^{Conversations} talks with him, heard him preach ~~and~~ ^{about him} and talked with friends all over Japan. Later I was to see him again when he came to the United States. Early in life he was stricken with tuberculosis and given only a short time to live. As a devoted Christian, he determined to make his remaining days count, ^{and for} ~~for~~ fourteen years he lived in a tiny room in the slums of Kobe, where he went about doing good.

~~He lost the sight of one eye, and his hands were so weak in time could scarcely handle his pen.~~ He contracted trachoma from a beggar with whom he shared his mat, ^{in time} and became almost totally blind. His heart was weak, he suffered from other ^{serious} ailments, and since youth his courageous spirit had resided in a wreck of a physical body. Yet he became the great Christian evangelist of Japan, and his steady ^{output} ~~quantity~~ of books, pamphlets, and articles can be called prodigious. Deep was his compassion, ~~and~~ ^{were} wide his sympathies, and heroic ^{was} his devotion to the needy - paupers, drunkards, prostitutes, criminals, the diseased and the forsaken. His life presents us with a supreme illustration of the triumph of spirit over body, of mercy over unconcern, and of dedication over self-centeredness.

Throughout the tour, our debt to missionaries and secretaries of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations was heavy. We were deeply impressed with the significance of the work they were doing, ^{and many} ~~many~~ times the question arose in my mind whether we had made a mistake in not carrying out our early purpose to be missionaries in some foreign land. Early in June, 1930, we landed at San Francisco, after a year of privilege crowded upon privilege in many lands.

As I sit looking toward the ocean, my mind travels to far places,
 to family,
 and within me surges deep gratitude to God, to friends, ~~and~~ to men and
 women of other days. I have a sense of belong^{ing} to a ~~great~~^{holy} fellowship,
^{comradeship}
 a fellowship with its roots far back in ~~the~~ time, and its living branches
 stretching high into eternity. I am lost in wonder and ~~awe~~^{joy} at the way
 we human beings are ~~made~~^{created}. God has made ^{us} for himself and longs for our
 reverent and obedient comradeship. He has made us for one another,
 and is ever prompt^{ing}ing us to love self less, and to love our fellows more.

~~I~~ I am moved to pray, ~~that~~ in the mood of thanksgiving and commitment, —
 and ready at hand are
 the words of my dear friend through forty years, John Haynes Holmes,
 valiant crusader and prphet of God:

Thou God all, whose spirit moves
 From pole to silent pole;
 Whose purpose binds the starry spheres
 In one stupendous whole;
 Whose life, like light, is freely poured
 On all men, 'neath the sun;
 To Thee we lift our hearts, and pray
 That Thou wilt make us one.

One in the patient company
 Of those who heed Thy will,
 And steadfastly pursue the way
 Of Thy commandments still;
 One in the holy fellowship
 Of those who challenge wrong,
 And lift the spirit's sword to shield
 The weak against the strong.

One in the truth that makes men free,
 That faith that makes men brave;
 One in the love that suffers long
 To seek, and serve, and save;

One in the vision of Thy peace,
 The kingdom yet to be —
 When Thou shalt be the God of all,
 And all be one in Thee.

brave

or Russian and had difficulty in ordering breakfast. "Ham and eggs" finally brought a platter with five fresh eggs and two slabs of ham. Taking out my can of George Washington coffee, I ordered hot water, cream and sugar. Then ^{came at two} ~~was handed a bill~~ - twenty cents in American money for the eggs and ham, and thirteen cents for the fixings for the coffee! Our experiences in Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and India will be discussed in a subsequent section.

Independence is the all-absorbing topic of conversation in Manila today as it is in Calcutta... Independence will cost the Filipinos a terrible price. Yet they are eager to pay it. They regard the perpetuation of American rule for the next half century as utterly intolerable... The record of constructive achievement by the United States in the Philippines stands unsurpassed in the annals of colonial administration... We are on the verge of an unparalleled success in training another people for self-government. By fixing a date when independence will be granted and continuing free trade for a decade, we can enable the Filipinos to have both freedom and prosperity.

Experiences in China shed light on the rise of communism in that land. Again we ^{observed} ~~observed~~ primary causes of totalitarianism, the combination of economic misery, political corruption and inefficiency, and widespread sense of insecurity.

Everywhere we have encountered gloom and despondency. The cumulative evidence of abysmal misery and paralyzing strife is almost overwhelming... ~~It is inevitable that China will be in turmoil for many years to come. Six major revolutions are occurring simultaneously...~~ It is inevitable that China will be in turmoil for many years to come. Six major revolutions are occurring simultaneously... The extent and degree of poverty in China is simply beyond comprehension... Business has been extremely bad during recent months. Intermittent civil war, the interruption of railway traffic, brigandage, piracy, excessive taxation and the rapid decline in the value of silver have combined to produce a disastrous commercial and financial depression... Low wages and desperate economic need increase the temptation to dishonesty and graft... The sale of public office and the farming out of taxes are widely prevalent... One general collected three years' taxes in advance! ... The soil of extreme misery, warfare, and chaos is one in which communism grows most rapidly. Communism and the war lords are competing with the spirit of nationalism for control of China. My own impression is that communism cannot permanently dominate the country because of the temperaments, customs and institutions of the people.

At the end of our world tour, I was so impressed with the amazing economic and social progress of Japan that I ^{seriously} underestimated the likelihood of war between that country and ^{our own} ~~the United States~~.

I am strongly convinced that Japan has neither the will nor the power to wage war successfully against the United States. To say that Japan is planning an armed attack upon ~~our~~ ~~the United States~~ shores ~~or commerce~~ is to place her leaders in the category of imbeciles or lunatics... War with America would cause the utter collapse of the silk and cotton industries of Japan. The colossal burdens of a great war would expose Japan to the peril of social revolution.

While Alma and I were on a world tour in 1929-30, an article of mine was published each month in The World Tomorrow. From England I wrote:

Vast volumes of ill-will are being generated by this question of reparation and debts; far more dangerous passions are being aroused than by controversies over armaments... Here is the acid test for the peace forces of the world. No number of disarmament agreements, no pacts renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, no Leagues of Nations - nothing, absolutely nothing can dam up and hold back the terrifying accumulation of resentment, bitterness and hatred being created daily by the passionate sense of injustice of the present reparation and debt settlements - that is, nothing except a drastic change of policy on the part of the United States.

As I read again an article written from Bulgaria, I realize vividly why communist totalitarianism met with such feeble resistance in the Balkans. Economic desperation and political bitterness opened the way for communist tyranny.

Here in Sofia wages are pitifully low, and irregular employment in towns and cities is the rule rather than the exception. In Belgrade I saw some of the foulest slums to be found anywhere in the world... Political conditions in South-eastern Europe are alarmingly unstable... Budapest probably feels her war losses more keenly than any other city in Europe. Territory which had been Hungarian for a thousand years ~~and~~ was lost to neighbors who are regarded as culturally and politically inferior... No Hungarian is reconciled to the permanent acceptance of present conditions. Nowhere in Europe is there a livelier sense of injustice nor a more passionate determination to recover lost provinces. Everywhere one sees the bitter slogan, Nem, Nem, Soha! (No, No, Never!), on maps, post-cards, candy boxes, door-plates, table scarfs and numerous other places. By official decree all school children are required to repeat the national creed twice each day:

I believe in one God,
I believe in one Fatherland,
I believe in one eternal justice,
I believe in the resurrection of
Hungary from the dead. Amen.

On my second visit to Turkey, I was thrilled and depressed, for reasons which I gave in ~~my~~ ^{my} article:

Turkey is being revolutionized from center to circumference. The whole life of her people is being radically transformed. Changes that ~~required~~ have usually required centuries are being crowded into a decade. In the realms of politics, education, social life and religion, a millenium has passed since 1900... No social custom, no cultural idea, no religious practice can escape relentless

7 A
examination... I was in Turkey three days before I saw a single veiled woman... The country as a whole is desperately poor. Much of the soil is arid and barren. We rode for thirteen hours on a train through a desolate region... Industry is in a backward state. Taxes are high. A huge national debt was inherited. Very little foreign capital is coming in. Illiteracy is general. The health of a considerable proportion of the people is bad. Malaria, tuberculosis, venereal disease, trachoma and dysentery are especially prevalent... The present government is a military dictatorship.

After memorable experiences in the Holy Land, I sent back this summary of my convictions about the political situation.

Thus we see that the deadlock is complete and the whole situation is highly dangerous. The Jews themselves have most to lose by the prolongation of the present crisis... Without violating the Balfour Declaration, it would be possible to provide a home in Palestine for Jews, without seeking to transform the country into a Jewish state... The way to break the present deadlock was indicated by a Zionist with whom we talked. He expressed the opinion that his people had made a fatal blunder by placing undue emphasis upon politics and by assuming an aggressive and vociferous policy, whereas it would have the part of wisdom to make an economic success of their agricultural colonies and to create in Palestine a cultural and spiritual home for the Jews of all the world. Any other procedure will produce fatal consequences. To have Palestine dominated by an alien minority is not only gross injustice, but is extremely perilous for Jews themselves.

India we found wide open doors wherever we went. After attending the sessions of the Indian National Congress, where the goal of immediate and complete independence was adopted, and authorization given for another campaign of non-violent non-cooperation, I wrote:

India's saint has again assumed active political leadership. Indeed, Gandhi's political power is derived from his spiritual influence. Even his opponents pay reverent tribute to the godliness of his character, while the masses bow down in adoration before him... Whether or not Gandhi will long retain this indisputed leadership can only be determined by the course of events, but just now he exercises spiritual mastery over more millions of human beings than any other man of the age.

A previous ^{attempted} visit to the Philippine Islands had been prevented by the breakdown of our steam^{er} after we left Shanghai, which compelled us to return to that port. This delay compelled us to turn at once to engagements in China. So I was especially eager to discuss American policy with Filipinos. After many conversations, I wrote down this conclusion:

Instead of following a policy which would have rendered *futile*
fanatical foreigners
~~the~~ the ravings of a ~~German~~ in the beer gardens of Munich,
Hitler's
the Allies played into ~~the~~ hands time after time. Instead of
abolishing discriminatory legislation against the Japanese, and
putting forth substantial efforts to help Japan solve her urgent
problem, and thereby strength^{en} liberal forces there, ~~the United~~ American policy
~~States~~ placed fiery ammunition for propaganda in the hands of
their militarists.

No 97

The rise of
a military
dictator

and must accept heavy responsibility for his
election to the Presidency of Germany. ~~This~~ *could be*
~~was apparent~~ as far back as 1923. *foreseen*

In 1945, as World War II neared its end, I wrote:

As we look backward it now seems clear that France and Great Britain and the United States could have won the Germans to the ways of peace, strengthened the German Republic, helped to maintain in office peace-loving German statesmen, and thereby prevented the outbreak of the Second World War. If these three nations had revealed penitence for their share of guilt in causing the war; if they had set about seriously to transform coercive empires into free commonwealths (not merely of white peoples but also free commonwealths of black peoples and brown peoples and yellow peoples); if they had disarmed, as they required Germany to disarm, because they no longer trusted in the power of violence; if they had transformed nationalism sufficiently to make possible the creation of appropriate agencies of international government; if they had shown a sympathetic understanding of Germany's grievance and had put forth resolute efforts to help Germany solve Germany's problems; if they had promptly welcome Germany into the League of Nations with equal status and equal responsibility... they could have won Germany to the ways of peace and thereby prevented another terrible war. But the argument is advanced that this is a policy of perfectionism, that it is sheer utopianism to expect nations to take such a course of action. To which the reply may properly be made that if ~~we~~ we must assume that nations will go on doing flagrantly wrong, then we must also realize that they will continue to get wrong results. Good harvests come only from good seed.

Eternal God, the Father of us all; we bless thy name for men of faith and vision who have led us toward the light of freedom and truth. Emancipate us this day from the slavery of sin, hatred and prejudice. Make us understanding in mind and brotherly in spirit. Break the barriers that separate us from our fellow man. Grant that thy kingdom of good will may begin with us, and that our nation may be blessed with unity and peace. In Christ's name, we pray. Amen.

Chapter 4

SOME DOMINANT ISSUES: 1890 - 1930

~~Opposite to Chapter 4~~
THE EVIL GOOD MEN DO

Conscientious wickedness is
Deadliest of the species.
When men look upon evil and
Call it good, when they say
Good is evil, the human
Mind is perverted and the
Heart of man is corrupted.
For untold ages vengeance
Was accepted as a command of
The gods. The Inquisitors
Used instruments of torture
And burning at the stake
As the will of God in their
Endeavor to stamp out
Heresy. In a Crusade to
Recover the holy ^aspulcher,
The streets of Jerusalem
Ran with infidel blood to
The knees of horses. Our
Fathers called chattel
Slavery the most blessed
Institution for bringing
Salvation to savages through
The atoning blood of our
Lord. Because he accepted
Divine right of kings,
General von Hindenberg
Fought valiantly in behalf
Of Prussian fatherland.

The conviction of our own
President that God willed
Victory caused him to order
The atomic destruction of
Hiroshima, the most violent
Assault in history. For
The preservation of white
Civilization, segregationists
Have inflicted cruelties
And mass injustices upon
Negroes, and have sought to
Nullify the Constitution.
Greed and ruthlessness
Have often been disguised as
Enlightened self-interest.
Strong is the temptation
To think, What is good for
Me is good for society.
Blindness becomes more
Total when the evil men do
Is smugly justified because
Americans are not as bad
As Russians; and when the
Reason is given,
~~Argument is made~~, we are not
As evil as men ~~would be~~.
used to be.
Let Christians ~~remember their~~
keep in mind
Their standard of evaluations
The stature of Christ, and
The Kingdom of God on earth.

~~CHAPTER 4~~

Chapter 03
~~SOME~~ DOMINANT ISSUES: ~~AMERICAN~~ 1890-1930

My career as a social evangelist has taken me across the earth, and has carried me into many realms of thought. I have sought to interpret the meaning of Christian discipleship, as I have understood it, in personal life and in social relations. My effort has been to nurture Christian character, and to challenge men to seek the Kingdom of God on earth - in economic life, in political affairs, in race relations, in international behavior. An evangelist must bring about a conviction of personal sin, and a social evangelist must produce a consciousness of corporate iniquity. We sin as individuals, and we sin as employers and as workers, as Caucasians and as Negroes, as Americans and as Russians. Salvation must be individual, and redemption must be corporate as well. The personal gospel is one side, and the social gospel is the other side, of the good news of God in Jesus Christ our Lord.

If my spoken and written words are to be understood, they must be examined in the light of basic problems which confronted my generation. This chapter is devoted, therefore, to an endeavor to carry the reader back to the closing years of last century, and enable him to breathe the social atmosphere, get a feeling of the situation, and sense the dilemmas which we faced during those decades.

Few there were who challenged prevailing economic ideas. Self-interest is the chief incentive to hard work, efficiency and thrift. An individual is the best judge of his own welfare. A man is entitled to as much wealth as he can get honestly, and may do what he will with his own property. He must "put his nose on the emery wheel of competition" which results in survival of the fit. Let the buyer beware. He must look after his own interests. Nobody else will. Poverty is caused by

laziness, waste and drunkenness. In this country, hard work, integrity, and thrift will carry a man to the top. An employer has the right to decide wages, hours of labor and working conditions. Nobody is compelled to work for him. If a man thinks he will be better off working somewhere else, let him go there. Inexorable is the law of supply and demand, as unchanging as the law of gravity. There is a natural harmony of interests of capital and labor. When business is ~~is~~ prosperous, workers are paid all the employer can afford. Competition in business is like a game. In tennis a player does not deliberately throw away a point. He is out to win, and so is his opponent. That is what makes sport enjoyable. If a man has a piece of property to sell, he does not say to a prospective buyer, "You are offering too much, the land is not worth half that amount." He drives as hard a bargain as he can. And so does every other ~~individual~~ seller. There is no such thing as too much profit, so long as what you do is legal. In a competitive system, you buy low and sell high, keep wages down and profits up. That is the best arrangement for everybody. It weeds out the incompetent and the shiftless. Competition develops character, makes for sturdy self-reliance, and strengthens the qualities needed for efficiency. An employer can hire and fire at will, and has no responsibility for a worker's wellbeing beyond payment of that compensation which ^{is} determined by the ~~iron~~ law of wages. You cannot wet-nurse people from the cradle to the grave. They have ~~to~~ got to wade in and get stuck. That is the way they get educated. Paternalism is destructive of moral fiber. Self-interest is the best servant of the public good.

Almost everybody was afraid of government, resented its meddling in private affairs, and wanted as little of it as possible. Still echoing were the words of Thomas Paine, "Government at its best is

a necessary evil." Before the Civil War the functions of government were few. Laissez faire was a reality. For many decades thereafter the theory was generally accepted, even when in practice it was *repudiated*. ~~acted~~ Inviolable laws reign in economic life. Governmental interference can lead only to disaster. Private initiative will be lessened, efficiency will be ^hdiminished, production will be reduced, and fewer goods for the people will lower the standard of living. The competitive struggle of self-interested individuals is far superior to bungling by public officials. Government ^sis inefficient in everything it touches, and wasteful of public resources. In a democracy the ablest men rarely seek public office, so mediocrity reigns in city halls, state capitols and in Congress. Most of these officials have never conducted a successful business of their own, and are poorly qualified to handle industrial and financial enterprises of increasing magnitude. Government reeks with graft and corruption. Moreover, public control of private affairs is tyranny. Freedom is too precious to be sacrificed by submitting to regimentation at the hands of third-rate politicians. The doctrines of laissez faire are given academic validation by learned professors in classical text-books of economics. So we raise in unison the voices of self-interest, social wisdom, and public spirit against governmental interference with business. Thus it came about that "Let us alone, let us alone," became a national chant. "Keep government out of business, keep government out of business," was acclaimed as the law and the gospel of industrialists, manufacturers and bankers during these decades.

Yet men of privilege ~~II~~ and power did not really want to be left alone. Few of them ever went along with Herbert Spencer in his insistence that the sole function of the state is the

punishment of crimes against life and property. They wanted governmental assistance in their struggle for private gain. They begged for land grants. They clamored for cash subsidies. Franchises. Exclusive right-of-way. Patents. Trade-marks. Copyrights. They lobbied for tariffs. Preferential treatment. Tax exemption. They sought limited liability for debts incurred, through legal incorporation and through bankruptcy statutes. They pleaded for sound currency. Dependable weights and measures. Harbors. Canals. River improvement. Highways. Public aid to private fisheries. They turned to the government for consular assistance in increasing foreign trade, and called for diplomatic support and armed intervention in other lands in behalf of American private business. They demanded legal action against labor unions, and cried out for labor injunctions and the use of troops as strikebreakers. Far from desiring the government to stay out of business, they sought vigorously and successfully to bring the state into the economic struggle - on their side.

Thus they worked both sides of the street; they called for help from government in increasing private profit, while moving heaven and earth to prevent government from protecting workers, farmers and consumers against their efforts to increase their own gains. They justified this dual policy by insisting that governmental aid to business is the best way for the state to serve the common welfare. This "trickle-down" theory dominated thinking over a long period, and found recent expression in the observation, "What is good for General Motors, is good for the country." Government - local, state, national - was commandeered for their enrichment, while preventing its use to stop their manhandling. When Charles Francis Adams returned from his ambassadorship to Great Britain, he wrote

in 1870 that the past five years

have witnessed some of the most remarkable examples of organized lawlessness, under the forms of law, which mankind has yet had opportunity to study... This has been particularly the case as regards those controlling the rapidly developing railroad interests. These modern potentates have declared war, negotiated peace, reduced courts, legislatures, and sovereign States to an unqualified obedience to their will, disturbed trade, agitated the currency, imposed taxes, and, boldly setting both law and public opinion at defiance, have freely exercised many other attributes of sovereignty... much as petty German despots might have governed their little principalities a century or two ago.

Forty years later a British journalist recorded this impression:

The United States is like an enormously rich country overrun by a horde of robber barons, and very inadequately policed by the central government and by certain local vigilant societies.

The biographer of Theodore Roosevelt devotes a section to a description of public morals in the days when the future President entered public life:

The stench of scandal and corruption had permeated the party for years. A Secretary of War had been subjected to impeachment proceedings. Five Federal judges had resigned under pressure. A railroad had been built across the continent to the accompaniment of thievery, bribery, and graft. Investigation of the Post Office Department had revealed the Star Route frauds.

In 1906 Theodore Roosevelt cried out:

The dull, purblind folly of the very rich men; their greed and arrogance... and the corruption in business and politics, have tended to produce a very unhealthy condition of excitement and irritation in the popular mind, which shows itself in the great increase in the socialistic propaganda."

The total acreage turned over to railroads as grants in aid of construction was one hundred and eighty-three million acres, an area greater than all New England, plus New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, with Ohio and Indiana and half of Illinois thrown in for good measure. The total amount of public aid given to railroads was nearly a billion and a half dollars,

an amount equal to the total valuation of all the real and personal property in the United States in the year 1792.

Even after infant industries had grown into giant corporations, additional private gain was sought through high tariffs against foreign goods. Thus producers were enabled to raise prices, and thereby impose what was in reality a tax upon consumers. Tariff lobbyists were among the most persistent and corrupt in American history. One has only to examine a graph of tariff trends to be impressed with the magnitude of surplus profits reaped by producers as a result of this tax on American consumers. During a period of seventy years, numerous commodities were subject to a tariff of forty per cent. Under the Act of 1922 rates on certain commodities were above fifty per cent: sugar, molasses, tobacco, silk, rayon. The Act of 1930 provided rates of fifty per cent on earthenware, glassware, wool, woollen manufactures, silk, rayon, and rates of sixty-four per cent on tobacco, and seventy-seven per cent on sugar and molasses. Numerous great fortunes came as a result of enlistment of the government on the side of protected producers.

Governments were considerate of business in determining taxes. It now seems incredible that income taxes were not imposed until 1913. An income tax law had been passed in 1894, with a flat rate of two per cent above four thousand dollars, but it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, in a famous five to four decision. The Sixteenth Amendment was required before an income tax could be imposed in 1913. This tax law provided an exemption of incomes under three thousand dollars, four thousand for married men, and carried a tax of one per cent on net incomes in excess of ~~threethousanddollars~~ these amounts; above twenty thousand

there was
 dollars a graduated surtax of one per cent, going to six per cent on
 incomes in excess of five hundred thousand dollars. Thus it came
 about that business men and financiers, down to the First World War,
 paid only a small proportion of their annual income in taxes of all
 kinds. Not until 1916 was an inheritance tax adopted as a permanent
 part of the tax system.

So far had the trend toward monopoly gone by 1913 that a govern-
 mental inquiry found that J. P. Morgan and three other banking houses
 held ~~with~~ three hundred and forty-one directorates in bank, trans-
 portation, public utility and insurance companies, whose aggregate
 resources were twenty-two billion dollars. How this vast power was
 used was illustrated in the monopolistic control of transportation
 in New England. A historian has written about this scandal:

"If any advance in business ethics had been made since the sordid
 days of the 1860's and 1870's, certainly there was little to
 show it in the record of the New Haven. The fate of this great
 railroad under Rockefeller and Morgan was little better than
 that of the Erie under Fisk and Gould."

On March 4, 1921 - three months before the beginning of my
 independent work - the reign of normalcy began with the inauguration
 of President Harding. Big business was in the saddle, and rode
 furiously in pursuit of private gain. The good old days had returned.
 Subsequent to the death of President Harding in 1923, Congressional
 committees ^{ok} rock the country with revelations of graft, corruption
 and scandals in the departments of Justice, Navy, Interior, in
 the Veterans Bureau, and the Office of Alien Property Custodian.
 Major scandals involved the lease of naval oil reserves at Teapot
 Dome and Elk Hills. Prison sentences were imposed upon Secretary
 Fall, Colonel Forbes, Colonel Miller, and Harry Sinclair. Secretary
 Denby and Attorney General Daugherty were driven from the Cabinet,
 and the Supreme Court invalidated the Teapot Dome and the Elk Hill
 leases.

15

Samuel Insull is a symbol of the spirit and practice of the age of normalcy. Son of an English clergyman, he ^{migrated} ~~came~~ to this country, and as private secretary to Thomas A. Edison learned the public utility business. At fifty-one he was one of the most powerful financiers in America, head of a vast system ^{holding} ~~of holding~~ ~~corporations~~ and chairman of sixty-five corporations. He estimated his own private fortune at one hundred and seventy millions of dollars. He survived the stock market crash of 1929, but two and a half years later his mighty empire ^{crumbled,} ~~crashed~~, with a loss of three-quarters of a billion dollars to gullible investors. Samuel Insull fled to Greece, was extradited, and put in the Cook County jail. In court he was acquitted, and set free. He simply did ^{on a titanic scale} ~~what~~ what "everybody was ~~doing~~ doing." The spirit of the times was to get all you can, and get it quickly while the going is good. With the help of some of the nation's ablest lawyers, rules of the game had been drawn so that it was easy to escape criminal conviction. Speculation became a national mania.

Vividly
do I remember a remark made ~~by~~ by a fellow-clergyman, "I am doing well on the stock market, and when I make another killing, I plan to retire." ~~In the membership of his church, were~~ ~~many of the~~ ~~most prominent~~ ~~men of great wealth.~~

the 1860's and 1870's, certainly there was little to show it in the record of the New Haven. The fate of this great railroad under Rockefeller and Morgan was little better than that of the Erie under Fisk and Gould.

In 1932 ^a Senate committee ^{conducted an} ~~beginner~~ investigation of the ^{Exchange} ~~Stock Market~~ and its part in bringing about the crash of 1929. In the course of this inquiry, the mightiest lords of finance were questioned, and "the nation was literally rocked by revelations, confessions and admissions, and even apologies from the highest men in the highest places." The record shows that

~~the Lords of Creation had formed "pools" for particular stocks~~

and bonds, run up the price of securities, poisoned the news of financial columns by the bribery of reporters, drawn unwary sheep into the pen of bulls and bears and sheared them as the bottom fell out of liquid ~~wealth~~ claims to wealth...After the Senate committee started its inquiry, innocence gave way to knowledge and a sense of double outrage developed - over personal losses incurred at the game, and the prestidigitation practice at the expense of simple, if greedy, players.

The evidence is incontestable that for sixty-five years, from the Civil War to the crash of 1929, ^{many} business men, industrialists and financiers had accumulated their gains through hard work, superior ability, thrift, unearned increment, ^{low taxes,} ^{manipulation of the market,} bribery, intimidation, dishonest and unscrupulous practices. Their attitudes and practices polluted the atmosphere breathed by my generation.

Stock watering
poisoning the news

rate cutting, rebates, secret agreements
cut throat attacks upon competitors

11400

thirteen when the first motion picture with a connected story was shown, organized, and in my teens when the first automobile appeared in our

9A 17

← This investigation "showed the inside of the American capitalist cup." The most respected men of finance were stripped to the skin and revealed as stark betrayers of the public trust imposed in them. The twelve thousand pages of this report were more than ample to disilluminate ^{re-illuminates many} millions of American ⁵ people with the private profit motive as the pathway to social health. Millions of ordinary speculators lost billions of dollars, the extent of their ^{misfortune} being reflected ^{this sample} in the range of ~~these~~ stocks:

	High	Low
American Telephone and Telegraph Company	304	71
General Electric	396	34
United States Steel	262	21
New York Central	256	25 9
General Motors	73	8
Radio Corporation	101	3

In a little book, Oh Yeah, has been gathered ~~another~~ illustrations of the public advice given by many of the most trusted financiers before and after the crash. The distance between ^{their} the ~~optimistic~~ optimistic predictions and the actual happenings is as far as the ^{separated} north pole is from the southern extremity. Through ten awful years of economic depression, the American people had time for reflection upon the economic soundness and moral quality of the social system which had plunged them to such depths of poverty in the midst of plenty.

and beyond,

The evidence is incontestable that for sixty-five years, from the Civil War to the crash of 1929, ^{American} many business men, industrialists and financiers accumulated their gains through superior ability, hard work, thrift, control of natural resources, unearned increment from the rise of land values, stock watering, ~~speculation~~, tariffs, ^{speculation,} foreign investments, war profits, monopolies, franchises, manipulation of the stock market, rate cutting, rebates, secret agreements, cut-throat attacks upon competitors, intimidation, violence, fraud, bribery and other unscrupulous practices. Their attitudes and actions polluted the atmosphere of my generation.

armed intervention
in behalf of

During these decades insecurity was the fate of American workers. The standard of living in this country was higher than in Europe, and incomparably above that in Asia and Africa. ^{But} when resources of the nation are taken into account, and returns to manufacturers and industrialists are ~~then~~ considered, wages were low and uncertain, hours of labor were long, working conditions were bad, housing was deplorable. During the years when I was growing up ^{and in my university days} more than one-third of the American people were ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed.

~~The average annual earnings of~~ employees in manufacturing, transportation and coal mining in 1890 ^{earned an average of} ~~was~~ four hundred thirty-four dollars. By the time the First World War broke out, the real earnings in purchasing power of these workers ^{were} ~~was~~ slightly less than four decades earlier. In 1928 real earnings were one-third higher than in 1890. These are average figures, with millions of workers below these amounts.

Wages of unskilled workers were incredibly low, full-time earnings in 1890 being less than nine dollars per week. By 1926 their real earnings had increased by twelve per cent, but in fifteen of these thirty-six years, the purchasing power of their weekly pay had remained stationary or had fallen slightly.

Wages of farm laborers in 1890 were less than twenty dollars per month. By 1926 the purchasing power of farm wages had risen ~~was~~ nine per cent in these thirty-six years. In 1921 and 1922 farm pay bought less than in 1890.

The average annual earnings of teachers in public schools in 1890 was two hundred fifty-six dollars, and in 1920 the average was three hundred fifty-three dollars. ~~The average annual salaries of Methodist and Congregational ministers in 1890 was less than eight hundred dollars. During~~

20 27
the following five years there was a slight rise, but from 1896 to 1926 the purchasing power of these annual salaries did not rise above that of 1890.

(5) 11
Average working hours for all industry in 1890 was fifty-eight, and did not drop below fifty until 1925. In some industries the twelve-hour day was prevalent, with a seven-day week.

During these decades millions of Americans were ^{poorly} housed, in shanties, shacks and slums. Of the three and a half million residents of New York City in 1900, more than two-thirds lived in tenement houses, the majority of them in the so-called "dumb-bell type" in which but ~~four~~ four rooms out of fourteen on each floor had direct air and light. These dismal and foul barracks were packed to overflowing, ~~with human beings~~ ^{afforded} With little opportunity for privacy or decency, they became incubators of disease, immorality and crime. In such an atmosphere, children were damned into this world. In all large cities, the poor were miserably housed, and ⁱⁿ mill towns and mining communities, life was drab and ^{dingy} unsafe. And ^{small proportion of} farmers, except a ~~few~~ favored families, lived in ^{unpainted} ~~unimproved~~ cabins or bare shanties.

20A
Insecurity has always ~~been~~ hovered over most Americans. In our history we have been visited by fifteen economic depressions, with disastrous business failures and devastating unemployment. Following the financial crash of 1929, the number of workers unable to find employment reached fifteen millions and remained high for a decade. Not until immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II did unemployment in the United States fall below ten millions. Even with steady employment, workers were insecure. Constantly they were threatened by ^{occupational diseases,} sickness, accidents, ~~and old age loomed ahead~~ ^{the coming of babies one after another, the necessity of helping indigent relatives - and old age loomed ahead.}

20 A

During the twenty-five years from 1890 to 1914 the total number
of immigrants coming to the United States was ~~nearly sixteen~~ ^{sixteen} millions.
~~seventy million~~ ^{seven hundred thousand}
Every year an average of ~~two million~~ individuals poured into city
slums, factory and mine towns. Here was a seemingly endless supply
of cheap labor with which to break strikes and hold down the level
of wages.

Back to

20

← Keeping the wolf from the door was an ever-continuing struggle for all except a small proportion of privileged people. Only by vivid recollection, or an imaginative effort to stand in the shoes of fathers and mothers ^{during} ~~in~~ these decades, can we enter into the anguish and misery ^{caused} ~~caused~~ by economic insecurity.

~~the~~ Fierce opposition was encountered when the workers sought to improve their lot by organizing labor unions and by turning to government for legislative assistance. In the early days of industrialism, labor unions were legally outlawed as conspiracies. At the turn of the century, only a small percentage of workers ^{were organized,} ~~belonged to unions,~~ chiefly skilled craftsmen. No serious effort was made to organize unskilled and women workers until the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations ^{in 1938.} ~~No 87~~

It so happened that the first decade of my public work was a period of intensified and ^{brutal} ~~mad~~ opposition to national labor unions. Spear-headed by the National Association of Manufacturers, ~~the movement~~ ^a ruthless drive was made to break the power of existing unions and to prevent the formation of new units of labor power. This movement was known as The American Plan, and was avowedly anti-union, except as it supported company unions controlled by employers.

This movement ^{rested} ~~was founded~~ on the dogmas of individualism and laissez faire. The owner must be left alone in the control of his property, and the employer must be allowed to run his business ^{the way he chooses.} ~~according to his own~~

~~judgment~~ Self-interest is the driving incentive of workers, and ~~each~~ every man is best qualified to ~~decide~~ make decisions about his own livelihood. He is free to seek employment wherever he will, but when offered work, he must take it or leave it. The worker has no right to a voice in determining rates of wages and profits ^{or} ~~and~~ prices to consumers. All these are determined by supply and demand under iron laws of economics. The right of control includes freedom to hire and fire at will. Interference

22

conduct

with the authority of an owner to ~~manage~~ his business as he chooses
is bound to be disastrous. He knows what is best, and he alone can
operate ~~manage~~ an efficient and prosperous plant or shop or mine. Therefore,
it is in the public interest to concentrate power of decision in the
hands of management.

An employer must deal directly with workers one
by one, and refuse to bargain collectively with national organizations.

~~For these reasons~~ Good Americanism demands opposition to labor unions.

It is insufferable for a walking delegate to butt in from the outside
and tell an employer how to run his business, especially so when it is
known that the chief concern of a labor agent is to feather his own
nest. An employer is in a better position to take care of his workers
than a corrupt union organizer is able to do. So anti-unionism is the
true essence of the American plan.

The effort to break the power of unionism was a many-pronged offensive, including refusal to hire union members, insistence upon a pledge by an employee that he will not join a union, labor spies to detect union activity, discharge of an employee for union membership, *the black list of union members passed from employer to employer,* ship, ejection of union families from company houses, bribery of union officials, lockouts to break the power of a union, employment of thugs *resort to* and ~~the use of~~ violence, demanding of government the use of troops as strike-breakers, poisoning public opinion through distorted news in the controlled press. These many measures are justified because a *intolerable* union shop is tyranny, and efforts to compel workers to join unions must be resisted in effective ways.

These ideas were long considered axiomatic, and found expression in the attitudes and practices of many manufacturers and industrialists. The record of economic conflict from the Civil War to the ~~inauguration of the New Deal~~ ~~inauguration of the New Deal~~ inauguration of the New Deal is filled with illustrations of the extremes to which hostility to organized labor was carried. Every step of the way the workers fought an uphill battle against terrific odds. Union members constituted only a small fraction of all workers, their standard of living was low, their reserves were small. The strike was their chief weapon, and in half a century there were one hundred thousand strikes. The concentrated power of employers usually enabled them to hold out longer, and as union members became more desperate they *often* ~~sometimes~~ resorted to violence against strike-breakers who were taking their jobs. This lawlessness seemed to employers to justify their own repressive violence. ~~The volume Dynamite, by Louis Adamic, is an appalling record of class warfare in the United States, and it makes the reader sick at~~

46612 Arrayed against them was the colossal might of industrialists, *the power of government,* ~~the power of government,~~ and the influence of public opinion. Vast numbers of immigrants were pouring into the country, and free productive land was rapidly disappearing.

Counter-violence often broke the power of unions, and reduced the workers to serfdom. In their desperation and rage, unionists sometimes resorted to extreme violence against property and life. In time some unions came under the domination of labor racketeers. The volume Dynamite, by Louis Adamic, is an appalling record of class warfare in the United States.

^{an editorial in}
In 1930 Forbes Magazine, a businessmen's journal, ~~in an editorial~~, summarized current industrial practices, as contrasted with many utterances of corporation leaders:

Business is business. The objective of industry is to make money... One of the easiest ways to cut down expenses being to cut down salary and wage rolls, we of course lay men off right and left. If elderly workers have become less nimble because of their long years of service, they are the logical ones to be dropped first... Instead of being criticized for technological unemployment, we should be commended, since it is conclusive proof of our mastery of the science of management. What happens to all the hordes of workers we release is not our concern. Our responsibility begins and ends with running our business with surpassing efficiency, which means with a minimum of human labor. Our objective is money, more ~~more~~ and more money, not more and more men, but fewer and fewer men... How to take care of unemployment is a problem for others to solve. Let George do that... We haven't the time to bother with it. It isn't our worry.

In their privation and impotence, workers turned to government for assistance in the endeavor to abolish child labor, reduce exploitation of women, provide compensation for industrial accidents, safeguard health, and improve working conditions. In the first half of the nineteenth century, children were cruelly exploited in industry, working inhumanly long hours for a mere pittance of pay. Various ^{6inally} states passed protective ~~laws~~ laws, all of which were inadequate and riddled with escape clauses. One of the most awful exposures ever laid before the United States Senate was an indictment of vested ^{in 1907} interests by Senator Beveridge in a remarkable four days' speech on the proposed child labor law. A somewhat extended passage by ^a ~~Reverend~~ biographer is illuminating:

Beveridge proceeded, reading the descriptions of the inhumanity of child labor from eye-witnesses - dreadful tales of human cruelty at the expense of mere mites of humanity for the sake of the rich man's dividends. Children of ten and twelve working with bleeding hands in the breakers of the mines, breathing the germs of death; children, under twelve, working twelve and ^{even} four hours a day for a pittance; a wan girl of nine working from dusk to dawn (all night long) ~~for a pittance~~ cleaning bobbins for three cents an hour. Some senators smiled... And thus, striking directly at the cynics, he went on reading from the evidence a record as brutal and horrible in its inhumanity as anything the pen of Dickens ever painted - a record of dwarfed bodies, of stunted minds, of tainted morals - of vicious greed fattening on the blood and sweat of children of from eight to fourteen in mills, mines and sweatshops... Three days of the scathing indictment of a savage system in the interest of greed had passed, and the infamy of child labor was now conceded; and Senators threw up the Constitution as a barricade, with Spooner and Bacon proclaiming the unconstitutionality of a national law.

And this proved to be the subsequent judgment of the Supreme Court, in decisions handed down in 1918 and 1922. Then a child labor amendment failed of passage because of insufficient ratifications by states. Regulation of hours of work for women proved to be ineffective in the states, and in 1923 the United ~~States~~

In their privation and impotence, workers turned to government for assistance in helping to abolish child labor, reduce exploitation of ~~prevent accidents,~~ women, provide compensation for industrial accidents, safeguard health, improve working conditions. In the first half of the nineteenth century, children were cruelly exploited in industry, working inhumanly long hours for a mere pittance in pay. Various states passed protective laws, all of which were inadequate and riddled with escape clauses. Federal child labor laws were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1918 and 1922, and a child labor amendment failed of passage because of insufficient ratifications by states. State regulation of ~~hours of work for women proved to be ineffective, and in 1923 the United~~

States Supreme Court failed to uphold a minimum wage law for women, passed in 1902 and 1909. State laws to compel employers to provide compensation for industrial accidents were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and not until 1917, was the constitutionality of such laws upheld. No state adopted any unemployment legislation until 1932. As he was leaving the White House, President Hoover still insisted that the Federal government had no financial responsibility for the unemployed. Not until 1935, in the depth of ~~the~~

~~The~~ catastrophic economic depression, ~~which collapsed the~~ ^{did} ~~which collapsed the~~ American people adopt ~~in 1935~~ a comprehensive program of social security. *No H*

← During the century when business men were constantly receiving generous benefactions from government, ~~making~~ the workers knocked long and loudly before their cries for help evoked a reluctant response.

In that year the American Federation of Labor ^{was} still so ~~enamored~~ the concepts of laissez faire that it went on record as opposed to statutory unemployment compensation.

enamored by

Since the appalling economic depression of the thirties, a *profound* revolution in thought about the function of government has taken place in the United States. All except those who are too blind to see and too deaf to hear ~~may~~ recognize the necessity of imposing drastic curbs upon the power of industrialists and financiers. There is now general acceptance of the idea that government is an instrument in the hands of the people to be used in such manner "as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." Except in a few silk-stocking districts, no candidate for the Congress of the United States can be elected if he opposed^s the welfare state. Although campaign oratory ~~legislation~~ may denounce as subversive or true Americanism the extension of government, members of the House and the Senate now vote consistently for measures which at the turn of the century were being denounced as radicalism and communism. ^{tie} Historians ~~consistently~~ point out that many of the plans^h of William Jennings Bryan, ~~and~~ ^{and} Gene Debs have been stolen by Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Dwight D. Eisenhower. The ^{and} ~~other~~ day Norman Thomas, who was candidate for ~~the~~ ^{six times} President of the United States on the Socialist ticket, remarked, "In 1932 I should have thought that the millenium nearer than I do today if I could have foreseen what Republican and Democratic candidates would be saying in 1956."

The story of the transformation wrought in the public mind since 1890 is truly an incredible tale.

The doctrine of laissez faire as the foundation of society is as dead as the dodo.

Yesterday's radicalism is today's conservatism.

All this is not to say that in the United States we have arrived at the economic millenium, in spite of the fact that we have ~~not~~ reached such a degree of productivity and ^{such} ~~efficient~~ efficiency in distribution that plenty for all our people can be made available. There remain gross inequities in the national distribution of purchasing power; the menace of excessive ^{on} concentration of financial and economic power has become more alarming; ^{the cancerous growth of} ~~widespread~~ graft and dishonesty in business, even beyond corruption in government according to the recent testimony of the chairman of a sub-committee of the United States Senate. We are gravely threatened by immensity and complexity in government, in industry, in labor unions. The spirit of materialism is pervasive, with its it tendency to subordinate spiritual values to the enjoyment of conveniences and luxuries. "Have a good time" ^{by most of our people,} is given top priority over doing the will of God as it is revealed in our Lord. ^{Secularism has, like a poisonous fog,} In spite of enormous gains during the past fifty years, no individual could be ^{utterly} so blind as to identify our present social order with the Kingdom of God. It remains true that every time we pray the petition, "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth," we are ^{really} making intercession for radical, deep-rooted changes in our ^{and social} economic life.

To an appalling degree ^{the} ~~our~~ minds and emotions of our people, and their scale of values, are at the mercy of mass communications, ^{television, radio, movies, the press -} directed by the drive for financial gain.

Settles upon our population and even our churches have not sensed it's suffocating pressure.

~~IV~~ ~~II~~ 28 ~~VI~~

The changes in status achieved by Negroes since the day I was born are beyond the utmost expectation of that ^{period.} ~~days~~. Elderly individuals ^{now} find it almost impossible to recover the thinking and feeling ^{then dominant.} ~~at the turn of the century~~. Indeed, one of the highest barriers was an almost universal conviction that "the Negro problem" was insoluble. A sense of hopelessness gripped thoughtful white ~~men~~ and colored alike. Through the prison walls of discrimination, segregation and exploitation came few chinks of light and ^{encouragement.} ~~encouragement~~.

A decision by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1883 placed control of Negroes in the South in the hands of white men. It invalidated the Civil Rights Act of 1875 by declaring that the Fourteenth Amendment does not protect social, as contrasted with political, rights; and does not prohibit invasion of civil rights by individuals unaided by state ~~authorities~~ authority. In 1896 the Supreme Court ruled that segregation on railways ^{is} ~~was~~ constitutional if the company provided ^s equal, though ~~separate~~, facilities for different races. These judicial decisions virtually ended, for decades, Federal attempts to protect Negroes against discrimination by private persons. The South gratefully accepted the segregation thus validated - and forgot all about equal facilities. The mandate of the Supreme Court ^{was} ~~as~~ interpreted by Southern officials as a blank check upon which they could write whatever demands ^{were} ~~deemed~~ necessary to enforce white supremacy. And, since between the years 1890 and 1920, from eighty-five to ninety per cent of American Negroes resided in the South, "the Negro problem" was turned over to Southern white men to be ^{dealt} ~~deal~~ with according to their standards. The Civil War had ended, slaves had been emancipated, but the fate of millions of Negroes ^{remained} ~~was~~ in the hands of their masters. And bitter was resentment against ^{any} ~~the~~ Yankees who meddled in their affairs.

History, tradition, myths about black men, ideas about racial interests, greed and fear caused white men to act ruthlessly in maintaining an extreme degree of ^{white} domination. ~~the~~ ^{well do & remember} the Negro "must be kept in his place." He was denied access to the ballot. His meager livelihood was earned in menial occupations, domestic service, ~~and~~ cotton farming and cotton tenancy. In industry he was last hired and first fired, and denied equal pay for equal work. His home was in a shack in a dilapidated segregated section, or in servants' quarters in alleys behind residences of white people, or in a shanty on the land.

He was segregated in church, school, public places, streetcar and railway. Everywhere he was Jim-Crowed. He was denied admittance to a hospital, and to ^{many} other privileges enjoyed by white people. He was arrested more often than white men for a similar offence, was given ^a comparatively heavier punishment, and received less protection from the law. He was subjected to intimidation, threats, and beatings. In ^{women} many communities, his ~~women~~ were without legal or social protection from the advances of white men. If he quarreled with a white man, or attacked him violently, and was shot, his white murderer ~~was~~ almost never brought to trial, there being numerous counties in which no white man has ever been punished by the law for assaulting or killing a Negro. When he was lynched by ^{hanging} ~~hanging~~ or burning or mutilation, members of the mob ^{rarely} received ~~any~~ retribution from government or community.

White control of Negro tenants was so complete that debt was almost universal. The white employer advanced ~~and~~ kept the record of charges, rarely giving information about entries, sold the crop, set the price paid. A tenant who owed money to an employer, could not legally leave the land, and thus became in fact a peon or serf. Over most of this period, industrial Negroes ~~were~~ excluded from labor unions, or segregated in black unions.

minimum food and clothing,

segregated, He was drafted in the First World War, exposed to danger, and put to work on the most undesirable jobs.

the insistence that

combined forty-eight public
 In these eight states in 1928 there only ~~one hundred~~ high schools for
 Negroes, and ~~sixteen~~ of these twenty-five were in North Carolina.

South Carolina and Alabama provided no high school training for Negroes,
 there were ~~no~~ h.s. and ~~two~~ in Florida. In these eight
 states only three each in Louisiana and Georgia, [^]

states there were only fifty-three
 private high schools for Negroes.

And public expenditures in these states
 for education of white children were
 far below appropriations in some
 other states

His segregation in schools was legally justified on condition that he be afforded equal facilities. Whereas, as a matter of fact, he was sent for a short term to a ^{school} ramshackle building with meager facilities, and taught by an untrained teacher on low pay. A comparative table speaks eloquently of flagrant discrimination against Negro children:

	Percentage of Negroes to Total Population	Percentage of State Educational Funds For Negroes
	1930	1928
Mississippi	50.2	10.51
South Carolina	45.6	10.66
Louisiana	38.9	9.98
Georgia	36.8	13.33
Alabama	35.7	8.40
Florida	29.4	7.01
North Carolina	29.0	12.13
Virginia	26.8	11.09

Thus it is apparent that as late as 1930, in these eight states, per capita expenditures for white children were from two to five times greater than funds for Negro children. Many white persons were convinced that more than a bare minimum of education would be ^{wasted on} ~~detrimental~~ Negro children. In the communities in which I grew up, Negroes with more than a smattering of education were ^{condemned} ~~called~~ as "uppity" and "smart-alecky." Of the five classes of American citizenship, the Negro was at the bottom, below native-born immigrants, Anglo-Saxons, north Europeans, south Europeans, Latins and Asiatics. It is no exaggeration to say that millions of American Negroes, during the period from my birth to the beginning of my public work, lived in greater degree of insecurity, ^{suffered more severe privation,} and were haunted by fear and terror, beyond their fate in the days of chattel slavery. And an individual was classified as a Negro, not when father or mother was Negro, nor when grandfather or grandmother was black, but if he had ^{in his veins} a single drop of Negro blood, for in those days it was assumed that Negro blood was different from Caucasian blood. Indeed, it was widely held that a Negro has no soul, and in fact is a mere beast. I heard this argument advanced in old man Cain's grocery store, in my boyhood in central Texas. *and Alms remembers*

"A nigger- ain't got no soul."

One of the most awful books ever published in this country is entitled, Rope and Faggot: a Biography of Judge Lynch, by Walter White.

Here are ^{horrible} ~~and~~ figures of lynching by decades:

1890 - 1900	1,665
1901 - 1910	921
1911 - 1920	840

Within a ~~short~~ half century there were nearly five thousand mob murders in the United States, an average of two per week, ^{the victims} ~~of these~~ ^{and a big majority of these were Negroes.} Writing in

1927, Walter White felt compelled to say:

The number of victims each year has sharply decreased, but the savagery with which the smaller number of victims are tortured by American mobs is proportionately greater than at the turn of the century... an uncomfortably large percentage of American citizens can read in their newspapers of the slow roasting alive of a human being in Mississippi and turn, promptly and with little thought, to the comic strip or sporting page. Thus has lynching become an almost integral part of our national folkways.

The gruesome honor of first place in total number of lynchings goes to my native state Texas, followed by Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee, Montana, Nebraska, California, Illinois, Kentucky, South Carolina and Virginia. Rope and Faggot is filled with two hundred pages of description of fiendish cruelty to fellow human beings. Because the Baptist and the Methodist churches have the

largest memberships, my friend Will Alexander, of the Commission on Race Relations, ^{told us} ~~and~~ that inquiry had proved that "most lynchings are

Baptist and Methodist lynchings." ^{the first thirty years}

And so it came about that ^{thirty} ~~the first thirty years~~ of my life were the decades when lynchings reached their most awful peak in American history, and my fellow Texans led the ascent.

32

As I draw upon memory, my conviction deepens that the behavior of white people, during ^{those} ~~the~~ years ~~before I began my public work~~, cannot be understood unless the absolute certainty of their belief in the superiority of their race is recognized. They did not merely "think" they were superior to Negroes, their actions were prompted by certain "knowledge." In all the years until we moved away from Texas, we never argued about the matter, any more than we argued about the existence of God. That segregation was necessary and desirable was taken for granted in the same way that we knew our democracy is better than the system of divine right of kings. I cannot recall a single question that anybody raised, in my boyhood, about the inferiority of Negroes and the necessity of keeping them in their place. In those days white people acted with certain knowledge. With as much certainty as officials of the church, in the days of the Inquisition, knew that heretics would be burned throughout eternity in the fires of hell. Never let it be forgotten, the Inquisition was an instrument of mercy, for surely it is better for a sinner to burn in this life, as an effort is being made to save his soul, than for him to burn forever as a doomed sinner. Once the doctrine is accepted that the end justifies the means, there is no limit to the awful cruelty of devotees of a holy cause. Thus it came about that quiet and gentle people established the system of segregation, extended it into every area of human life, and defended it with callous savagery. Not that most most Southerners were callous in their treatment of Negroes. As long as black people would stay in their place, they were often treated with kindness, considerateness and generosity. It was terror of racial equality that transformed friendly benefactors into enraged mobs howling for human blood.

Negroes have not been the only victims of race discrimination, segregation, exploitation and violence in the United States; and the South has never had a monopoly of the practice. Take down the book Brothers Under the Skin, by Carey McWilliams, read it and weep. American Indians, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Hindus, Koreans and South European immigrants have intermittently been on the receiving end of abuse, villification, discrimination, exploitation, and mob violence, administered by first-class ~~American~~ citizens in all sections of "the land of the free and the home of the brave." And all this has been done with a patriotic feeling in the service of ~~the~~ Americanism.

^{The} ^{are} ^{of} ^{being}
~~the~~ deep rooted ~~the~~ virus of race passion is now revealed in have,
the reaction to recent decisions of the Supreme Court, which ~~one~~ one by one, knocked props from under the superstructure of segregation.

It is now plain to everyone except the blindest of the blind that the legal, economic and moral ^{foundations} ~~justifications~~ of the system of racial segregation are rapidly crumbling. The doom of this tyranny over millions of our fellowmen is ^{near} ~~obvious~~. Time is marching on.

Christian ^{son}
As a defender of segregation said to us in Florida, "My ^{son} doesn't think the way I do." Yet very much indeed remains to be done.

Comparatively few are the communities in any part of the United States where Negroes and other non-Caucasians are welcomed as neighbors and received into the life of the ~~many~~ churches, luncheon clubs and civic organizations. Segregation, blatant or covert, ~~still~~ remains dominant, in housing, in social life, and in the churches.

VII

The Spanish-American War broke out when I was eight, and I have a faint recollection of the noise and shouting. Jingoism ran rampant. The mood of national expansion swept with religious fervor over the land. In looking over books which I read twenty and thirty years ago, I realize that my memory has dimmed as to the part played in American history by expansionism. From the earliest moment, our fathers were aggressive in seizing the land of the Indians. They rounded out our possessions on this continent ^{by} ~~with~~ means fair and foul. The Chicago Tribune ^{on May 3, 1936,} ^{double spread} printed in a Sunday edition a map, colored by periods of territorial acquisition by the United States, and concluded that ~~that~~ ^{The caption "By Conquest" appears on seven of these spots of color.} armed force was the means used most often. Manifest Destiny, by Albert K. Weinberg, a scholarly volume published by the Walter Hines School of International Relations, presents ^{five} ^{hundred} pages of detailed ^{examination} ~~evidence~~ of the doctrine of expansionism and its fruits. ^{Here are} Typical justifications ^{proposed} of the seizure of other peoples' land and ~~the~~ expansion of the domain of the United States ~~are~~:

We have a right to the possession. The interests of the human race demand from us exertion of this right... God and nature have destined New Orleans and the Floridas to belong to this great and rising empire... The waters of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi interlock in a number of places, and the great Disposer of Human Events intended these two rivers should belong to the same people... The finger of God never points in a direction contrary to the extension of the glory of the republic... We would hold Mexico, not for our use, ~~but~~ but for the use of man... This continent was intended by Providence as a vast theater on which to work out the grand experiment of Republican government, under the auspices of the Angle-Saxon race... The American impulse of expansion is glorious and divine... The whole unbounded continent is ours... In the order of Providence, America might become the last asylum of liberty to the human family... We do but follow out our destiny, as did the ancient Israelite... Providence has given to the American people a great and important mission, to spread the blessings of Christian liberty... We received our rights from High Heaven... Providence calls upon us to regenerate Mexico's decadent population... We were constituted missionaries by Heaven, even by fire and sword and by slaughter, to carry the light of civilization into the benighted land of Mexico... ~~When the American~~

During the first thirty years of my life, there was a dramatic revival and intensification of expansionism. ~~Its~~ Its most bellicose exponent was Theodore Roosevelt, and its most eloquent advocate was Albert J. Beveridge. They were joined by hundreds of lesser lights, and by vast economic and financial interests, in demanding that ~~the~~ the domain of the United States be extended to include *Canada*, Caribbean and certain Latin American countries, the Philippine ^S ~~Islands~~ and parts of China. It is startling to refresh our memories with quotations from Theodore Roosevelt:

We will settle the Venezuela question in Canada... Canada would surely be conquered, and once wrested from England it would never be restored... This country needs a war... If I had my way, we would annex ~~the Hawaiian islands tomorrow~~ the Hawaiian islands tomorrow... I would hoist our flag over the island leaving all details for after action... Peace is a goddess only when she comes with sword girt on thigh... No triumph of peace is quite so great as the supreme triumph of war... Diplomacy is utterly useless where there is no force behind it; the diplomat is the servant, not the master of the soldier... I would regard a war with Spain from ~~the point of view~~ ~~the benefit~~ the benefit done to our people by giving them something to think of which isn't material gain, and especially for the benefit done our military force by trying both the Army and Navy in actual practice... I would give anything, if President McKinley would order the fleet to Havana tomorrow... I abhor unjust war... I should never advocate war unless it were the only alternative to dishonor... The Quakers, being unwilling to fight, should be denied citizenship.

Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, was an imperialist by conviction. He was certain in his mind that nothing so fortunate could happen to "backward peoples" as to be brought under the benign rule of the United States. He ^{economic} was no reactionary, but one of the most forceful progressive of his time. His biographer writes, "Napoleon was his idol - Napoleon and all the tribe of conquerors. *"This is the way he gets it"* ~~Before the outbreak of war with Spain, he was saying:~~

General Grant dreamed the same dream that God put in the brain of of Jefferson and Hamilton... the drama of American extension till all the seas shall bloom with the flower of liberty, the flag of the great Republic... It is God's great purpose made manifest in the instincts of our race, whose present phase is our personal profit, but whose far-off end is the redemption of the world and the christianization of mankind... The Philippines are ours forever... The Republic never retreats. Its flag is the only flag that has never know defeat. ~~Where~~ Where the flag leads, we follow, for we know that the hand that bears it onward is the unseen hand of God...

Pray God the time may never come when Mammon and the love of ease shall so debase our blood that we will fear to shed it for the flag and its imperial destiny... And so, Senators, with reverent hearts, where dwells the fear of God, the American people move forward to the future of their hope and the doing of His work. .. This is the "empire" of which the prophet's voice declared "Westward the Star of Empire takes its way" - the star of the empire of liberty and law, of commerce and communications, of social order and the Gospel of our Lord - the star of empire of the civilization of the world.

~~To understand the full significance of such words, coming as they did from hundreds of ~~statesmen and editors~~ public figures in this country, we must observe the consequences of similar sentiments embedded in the policies of more ancient vintage. ~~of nations whose imperialism was~~ ~~of nations whose imperialism was~~~~

This spirit of imperialism was the primary cause of the First World War - ~~because~~ ^{for} it was not confined to the United States, but found much earlier and much fuller expression in Great Britain, France, ^{Russia,} ~~Germany~~ and Germany. The utterances of Roosevelt and Beveridge ^{can} ~~could~~ be matched ~~phrase~~ ^{European} phrase by phrase in the public addresses of leaders in these lands. Imperialism ~~led~~ ^{coalition} led straight to militarism, and the ~~combination~~ produced a race of armaments and a scramble for overseas possessions. Patriotism was perverted into jingoism and the doctrine "my country, right or wrong." This gave a blank check to reckless gamblers for national prestige and power and gain. Years later I was to stand in Serajevo on the spot where Princip fired the fatal shot with reverberations which are still sounding around the earth. Let a man thumb through the two volumes The Diplomacy of Imperialism, by Professor Langer, and he will realize how inevitably the spirit of expansionism led the nations through the First World War to ~~the~~ ^{continuing} World War II, and into the center of international crises in this year of our Lord. On page 797, Professor Langer brings his study to a conclusion with these poignant words:

One cannot study this period (the first twelve years of my life)

without marvelling at the exuberance and optimism which went hand in hand with recklessness and confidence in the conduct of foreign affairs. It was taken for granted that the world was marked out by Providence for exploitation by the European white ~~man~~ man and that the principle of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost was natural law. In the writings of the statesmen and in the writings of journalists there is very little trace of deeper understanding. The rise of Japan, the Adua disaster, the Boxer rising, none of these epoch-making events really opened the eyes of Europe. Even Lord Salisbury could see in the world nothing but a few virile nations and a large number of dying nations. The basic problem of international relations was who should cut up the victims.

And the last ~~sentence~~ ^{sentence}, written in 1935, reads: "In our own day we have learned otherwise and all this now seems long ago." Alas, alas, how tragic ~~this~~ ^{ally} this prophecy is daily being refuted in international diplomacy!

My undergraduate years were 1911-1915, and I majored in sociology, with a minor in economics. Yet the outbreak of war in the summer of ~~1914~~ my junior year came as a complete surprise. ~~and our statesmen~~ in lands none of ~~things really~~ ^{statesmen;} Not only overseas had ~~at~~ these ~~things really~~ ^{will} opened the eyes of ~~Europe~~ ^{was} in the United States the common conclusion that this ~~was~~ ^{is} just another European brawl and ~~would~~ ^{will} scarcely affect us, especially in inland Iowa. The idea simply did not enter my mind that the United States might become involved in this far off war. The problem of war had been entirely academic in our infrequent ~~references to~~ ^{discussions of} it. In all those years I ~~had~~ never met an informed and determined pacifist, and have no recollection of even a single serious conversation about the duty of a Christian to ~~refuse to engage in war.~~ ^{any} The few voices of warning that the nations were rushing toward war ~~had been~~ ^{were} dismissed as the cries of ~~extremists.~~ ^{alarmists.} An editorial in a leading periodical in 1911 exclaimed: "The world is going well. The Prince of Peace is coming to His own." In that year William Howard Taft published an article under the title, "The Dawn of World Peace."

Four months prior to the outbreak of war in 1914, an editorial in another ~~periodical~~ ^{magazine} rejoiced: ~~The civilized world is slowly groping its way toward~~

double
space

The civilized world is slowly groping its way toward organic unity and purpose; rivalry is giving way to cooperative action; and the motives ~~that precipitate nations headlong~~ that precipitate nations headlong into conflict are visibly becoming weaker.

In all these years the voices of clergymen were lifted on social issues, except to condemn drunkenness, gambling, vice, crime, Sabbath violation and the materialistic spirit of the age. Concerning Christian ethics in politics, economics, race relations, and international affairs there was a vast silence in the pulpits of the land. The business of a pastor is to save souls, conduct public worship, administer the sacraments, teach in Sunday School, minister to the afflicted, comfort the sorrowing, marry the young and bury the dead. ~~He has no experience in the complex areas of economic and political life, and does not know enough to speak with authority on controversial issues. It is his function to win souls and nurture Christian character. If this task is well done, laymen will then Christianize the social order.~~ *Let the minister be the minister*

in a church that is the church.

When a clergyman did feel impelled to speak on controversial issues, more often than otherwise he supported the conservative side. Like his fellow citizens, he had been thoroughly indoctrinated with the ideas of laissez faire, and, even though he had risen from poverty, his close friends in the church were usually middle class people. His major decisions about church affairs were made after consultation with business and professional men. His attitude toward white supremacy was likely to be the same as that of his members, and his patriotism was of their variety. He felt a strong ~~responsibility~~ responsibility to maintain the unity of his people, and was reluctant to say anything which might divide the congregation. He shared prevailing estimates of "radical" and "subversive" movements, and was careful not to get out of line. He was not unaffected by the cult of

success which engulfed his members, and was ambitious to get ahead in his profession. Sincerity of conservative convictions, reluctance to jeopardize the church, and concern for the future of his family prompted him to line up with men of privilege and power in the congregation and in the community. Rarely did he challenge the source of these privileges and this power, and not often did he pass judgment on the conduct of his members in business, professional life, community affairs, and public office. There were, of course, exceptions to the conservatism of clergymen, but the voice of professional leadership ~~was almost~~ most often echoed the social thinking of ~~most~~ church ~~members~~ members.

By the time I entered the university, the social gospel was being heard in the land. Four years previously Christianity and the Social Crisis, by Walter Rauschenbach, had created ~~much~~ a sensation in religious circles. During that decade Washington Gladden, Shailer Mathews, Josiah Strong~~er~~, and Charles R. Brown had published important volumes on social Christianity. Indeed, for a half century isolated voices had been raised in interpretation of the social teaching of Jesus. But in 1921, when I began my independent career as a social evangelist, a mere fraction of clergymen felt impelled to enter the zone of controversy as spokesmen for the social ethics of our Lord, and the percentage of laymen in the churches who accepted this responsibility was ^a } microscopic proportion of all ~~the~~ Christians in the United States.

Thus it came about that my boyhood and youth were spent in a raw and turbulent period, and that my independent work began in the days of normalcy under President Harding, when the church was exercising ~~very~~ only feeble influence in the controversial realms of our social order. For the next thirty-seven years I was privileged to be related to many important

agencies

movements of social Christianity - The Federal Council of the Churches
 of Christ in America, the ⁽²⁾ Student Volunteer Movement, ⁽¹⁾ the Student Christian
 Movement, Association, the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, the Fellowship
 of Reconciliation, the League for Independent Political Action, ^{and} the
 Socialist Party. ~~These movements are~~

and the American Friends Service
 Committee.

This chapter has been an endeavor to bring to mind some of the basic
 problems of my generation. It has not been, of course, an effort to
 present a balanced ^{account} ~~picture~~ of evil and good in American society during
 the past half century. ^{Now} ~~What I said and wrote about~~

~~these problems~~

^{extent} To the degree that the reader has ^{vividly} ~~imprinted~~ imprinted on his mind
^{the distressing} a picture of ^{prevailing} conditions in economic life, race relations,
^{and to the degree that he} ~~the~~ international affairs, ^{he} ~~the~~ reverberating silence of
 the churches on controversial issues, he will be in a position to
^{have} understand what I said and ^{done} ~~and~~ during the years of my ministry as a
 social evangelist.

Chapter 5

FORTY-FIVE YEARS OF PREACHING AND WRITING

(opposite to
chapter 5)

No. 95

Chapter 5

FORTY-FIVE YEARS OF PREACHING AND WRITING

Victoria ~~Victoria~~ of the Zambezi

Much water has rolled over ~~Niagara~~ Falls since I preached my first sermon in 1912, and many are the millions of human beings who have passed into the great beyond. During all these years, preaching has been a source of deep joy to me, and my soul has been poured into it. From childhood, I have been ^{immersed} ~~in~~ in religion, and from it have gained ^{refreshment} ~~satisfaction~~. So central has it been in my experience that I have longed to share its blessings. With voice and pen and life, I have endeavored to open ^{windows} ~~doors~~ to the invisible world of the spirit, and to ~~invite~~ ^{prompt} help individuals to feel at home in this enchanted realm. and seminary, Stimulus from my professors at ~~this~~ university, sustained reading in a wide ^{area} ~~field~~, impacts made by great spirits in different lands, and ripening ^{personal} ~~experience~~, ^{have} impelled me to explore the meaning of religion in the lives of individuals and in the society which engulfs us. For four decades, my mind has been fully committed to the social gospel, as one of two inseparable sides of the good news of transformation and redemption. More than most ministers, I have been prompted by conviction, and afforded opportunity by many privileges, to plough ground in the fields of economics and politics, race relations and international behavior. Two questions have ^{my} been uppermost in mind, ~~namely, what~~ ^{What} attitudes and practices are blocking movement toward the ~~king's~~ ^{unobscured} reign of God in the lives of his children? What is the will of God for us here and now, in this part of the social order - in economics? in politics? in race relations? in international behavior?

welcomed
fully accepted

My time has been so divided since seminary days that ~~a total~~
~~of~~ two decades have been devoted to travel and itinerant preaching,
 and twenty years in all to sustained study and much writing. About
 half of my time, ^{year after year} on the average, has been given to verbal expression
 of my convictions, and the ^{remainder} ~~other half~~ ^{study and} to the use of my typewriter ^{rare} in
 an effort to reach other minds. In ~~almost~~ ^{unequaled} degree, I have
 been delivered from monotonous tasks of drudgery, and have been *privileged*
~~able~~ to concentrate upon that which seemed most important to do.
 This ~~fortunate circumstance~~ came about as the result of generosity
 on the part of friends who agreed that my time should be spent in
~~my~~ independent work and who provided the required financial
 assistance. ↗

↖ In my preaching and in my writing, I have ranged widely and
 have alternated between emphasis upon personal religion and upon
 social ^{relations} ~~religion~~, between individual nurture and challenge to social
 action. My ~~entire~~ ^{been drawn deep} message has ~~drawn~~ from wells of conviction about
 God and about man, and the significance of Jesus Christ as the
 supreme revelation of what God is and what man may become. For
 forty years my preaching has been that of a pacifist Christian,
 and for ~~thirty~~ ^{three} decades that of a socialist Christian, and
 since my early years at the university ^{that of a Christian} I have been committed to
 equality of all races, ^{there is} because ~~of~~ ^{that} of God in every man.

Included in my conception of the attributes of God are the
 qualities of personality, in highest degree and ~~attainable~~ beyond all
 human comprehension; ^{power} the ability to plan, to will,
 to love, ^{to grieve} to act, to rejoice, to suffer, to forgive, to pursue. Of the
 limited ~~mechanical~~ ways of conceiving of God - as energy ^{idea} or force or mechanism,
 as abstract truth or intelligence, as mechanism, as the sum total
 of human consciousness, as the principle of concretion or unifying
 agency, as ^{merely a subjective} concept created by man in his own image
 and lacking the ~~weaknesses~~ weaknesses of human responses.

we must say that

If we are to think of God at all, ~~we must say that~~ ^{some} ~~he is more like personality than he resembles anything else in the~~ ^{to say ~~that~~ the Creator is} universe - more than ~~impersonal energy or force or~~ mechanism, or abstract truth or idea, or merely a subjective concept formed by man in his own image, or ~~the~~ ^a the sum total of human consciousness, or the principle of concretion, or ^{unifying agency,} or ^{some} ~~any~~ ^{sub-human creature.} ^{God} ~~The Creator~~ must be more significant than ^{every} ~~any~~ ^{and every living} ~~created thing~~ ^{He} ~~any~~ creature. ~~God~~ cannot be inferior to the wisest and holiest and most powerful human being.

When we say that God is more like personality than he resembles anything else, we ~~do not mean~~ ^{do not mean} that divine thinking and feeling and doing are characterized by the ~~imperfections~~ ^{imperfections} and frailties and ~~and blemishes of human thought and action.~~ ^{every} Far beyond ~~any~~ ^{every} human achievement is the character of God. So we must conceive of ~~him~~ ^{him} as personal-plus, so far beyond that we ~~cannot~~ ^{are less able to} understand him ^{fully} ~~perfectly~~ ^{perfectly} than an infant is able to ^{construct} ~~explain~~ the intricacies of an electronic ~~brain~~ ^{brain} or expound with clarity the theory of relativity. We humans are adrift in a shoreless sea of mystery. That which we know with unchanging certainty, is a mere ^{pin-point} ~~point~~ of ^{boundless} ~~boundless~~ coral reef in the ~~ocean of life.~~ ^{ocean of life.} And mystery of all mysteries is the essence of the Eternal Being.

Yet we are warranted in staking life itself upon certain convictions about the character of God. Enveloped in mystery as we are, it is more reasonable to live by the conviction that behind ~~thought~~ ^{thought} and ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the orderly processes of our universe, there is Mind and Purpose, and that these cannot be less wise and less worthy than the thinking and the endeavor of the noblest human beings. The ^{farther} ~~more~~ modern science pushes back the frontiers of the unexplored, and the more ^{amazing} ~~marvelous~~ become its disclosures, the more reasonable it is to believe in an ultimate Mind and a final Purpose. Consider what *it means*

to accept
4

~~was believed~~ ~~involved~~ ~~the~~ ~~hypothesis~~ ~~that~~ ~~there~~ ~~is~~ ~~no~~ ~~purposeful~~
Creator, that the entire universe across its ^{two} billions of light years, ^{of space,}
and within it myriads of atomic ^{worlds,} universes, and over its span of ~~unfathomable~~
billions of years ~~than the human mind can comprehend~~ - that all this
is the automatic ^{creation} ~~operation~~ of self-creating and self-directing ^{generating}
molecules and cells. To believe that this marvelous universe is the
result of a fortuitous concourse of atoms, is ^{sheer} ~~the utmost degree of~~
~~credulity~~, Far more rational and ^{much} ~~intelligently~~ more redemptive is ~~the~~
simple faith in the wisdom and holiness and love of God.

This faith has been ^{foundation} ~~at the center~~ of all my ^{preaching and all my} ~~promising and all my~~
writing. For twenty-three hundred weeks I have been exploring
^{its} ~~the meaning of this faith~~ for human life and human society. In
^{in numerous} many sermons and conversations, articles and books, I have shared
my ^{deepening} ~~ever more glorious~~ convictions about the resources available to
men in their efforts to build a good life and a ^{beloved community.} ~~good society.~~

~~The most precious of God's gifts is the revelation of himself~~
~~in Jesus Christ our Lord, Nothingxxxxxxnothingxxxxxxnothingxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxnothingxxxxxx~~ Because man's deepest need is

7 11.8 Blue Book

and
 Year after year, Jesus Christ has loomed higher ~~has~~ ^{full} steadily become more central in my preaching and writing. The measure of ~~his~~ ^{his} stature has ~~been~~ ^{been} my standard of judgment. I think of God in terms of Christ, and my estimate of man is determined by ~~his~~ ^{the} character and achievements. His portrayal of the Kingdom of God on earth is the pattern by which all social orders are to be evaluated. An increasing awareness of his living presence has been a holy inspiration in my thinking and doing.

Early in my ministry I was reminded of the importance of studying Jesus as a historical figure. Whatever may have been his degree of uniqueness, he was a man confronting the problems of his generation and in a special place, "tempted in all points as we are." ^{New Testament} The emphasis upon the divinity of Jesus is no more basic than its insistence upon his full humanity. ^{He} Jesus was not merely an actor on the stage of Palestinian life, faultlessly repeating lines from a script which he had perfectly memorized. He grew from immaturity to maturity, "he increased in wisdom, in stature and in favor with God and man." Daily he was confronted with alternatives, and compelled to make choices. ^{of the journey} The decisions he made were not ~~not~~ ^{inexorably} working ~~out~~ ^{of the journey} ~~in his life~~. At every step he was free to do his own will, or to do the will of his Father, and the effort to make God's will his own will was the supreme struggle which continued throughout his earthly career. If one volume ^{should} ~~must~~ be mentioned as formative in fixing Jesus in my mind as a man who confronted momentous human problem, ^{the} that book must be Toward ~~the~~ Understanding of Jesus, by Simkhovitch. *Thurmond and I persuaded the Macmillan Company to permit us to publish a cheap edition for wider circulation.*

Jesus lived under an army of occupation, and with his people ^{endured} ~~under~~ ^{under} the ~~problems~~ ^{of} ~~imposed by~~ subjugation. Taxes were severe, and measures ^{rigorous} designed to perpetuate Roman sovereignty ~~and~~ ^{accepted} were ~~severe~~. So long as the Jews ~~acknowledged~~ ^{accepted} Rome's right to rule, paid taxes, and observed imperial laws, they were accorded an unusual degree of ^{ruthlessness} home rule. But rebellion was quelled with ~~severity~~ ^{severity}. Insurrectionists were killed in battle, or sold as slaves, or crucified on trees. In the New Testament, four of these rebellions are mentioned; and Josephus, secular historian of that period, gives gruesome details of many crucifixions, two thousand on one occasion. When the smallness of the whole land is considered, there is every probability that Jesus saw ~~many~~ many a patriot being nailed to a cross, and heard his shrieks ~~as~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{Sepphoris} agony. Galilee was a hot-bed of rebellion, and its capital, only four miles from Nazareth where Jesus was living as a boy, was burned to the ground. Among Jesus' friends ^{there} must have been many ^{who had been} relatives of patriots ^{executed} by Roman might. Jesus' sensitiveness to human suffering, and his compassion for people, made him feel the burden of military oppression more than any other person in the land.

Judaism as a religion

That century did not see ~~Judaism~~ ^{Judaism} rise to its sublimest height of prophetic vision and power. On the contrary, it was an age of ritualism and formalism and sterility. There were, of course, ~~many~~ ^{many} saints of deep piety and patriots of religious fervor. Five per cent of the people strictly observed the requirements of the ceremonial law. ~~The~~ ^{Rich} ~~men of privilege~~ ^{men of privilege}, were pro-Roman and feared rebellion. The multitudes were like sheep without a shepherd, plunged into ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~depression~~ ^{depression} privation and misery, filled with hatred toward foreign invaders, and lacking in spiritual vitality. ~~The~~ ^{The} Pharisees, ~~the~~ Sadducees and ~~the~~ Zealots combined were failing to provide the spiritual sustenance so deeply craved by the people.

^{makes it clear}
 The records ~~show~~ that Jesus developed early and to an amazing degree of wisdom and power. At twelve he startled the doctors of the law with his insight, and until thirty he worked as a carpenter. The preaching of his cousin John precipitated a decision to begin his own public work. During a period of withdrawal, he reflected for days and nights upon ways of deliverance for his people. ~~Earnestly~~ he sought guidance from His Father, and resolutely committed himself to the doing of God's will. Possibilities entered his mind, which he called temptations, to ~~devote himself to~~ ^{Concentrate upon} the satisfying of economic needs, to ~~subjugate~~ ^{win public support by} spectacular displays of power, and to take up arms and lead his countrymen to victorious conquest and domination.

profoundest
 One of the ^{profoundest} mysteries of life is the emergence of a child prodigy - in music, in poetry, in mathematics, in incredible feats of memory.

Jesus was a genius in religion, a God-intoxicated individual, who ^{perfectly} was so ~~entirely~~ at home in the world of the spirit that God was as real to him as Simon Peter was ~~real~~. So he got up a great while before day, and sometimes he spent the whole night through, in joyous comradeship

Eternal.
 with the ~~Unseen~~ To find out what God wanted him to do, and to be able to do it, became the passion of his existence. And the glory of ^{being alive} ~~life~~ was heightened: the more he wanted to please his Father, the more vivid became God's presence; and the more keenly aware of the ^{holy} ~~divine~~ presence, the more ardently he sought to follow ^{divine} ~~God's~~ guidance. And herein is the redemptive circle that is life itself.

Many New Testament scholars look upon John's Gospel as the profoundest interpretation of the mind and spirit of our Lord. Its author was himself a man of genius in religion, and it appears that he entered ^{completely} ~~fully~~ into the spiritual aspirations and achievements of Jesus than any other individual. When he quotes, ~~Jesus~~, it difficult to distinguish between words which he puts on the lips of Christ, and words which he uses to express his own insight into the mind of the Master. So exalted

In wartime, as my mind grappled with the problem of ends and means, I reflected often upon the significance of the cross of Christ. More and more I realized that in his ^{approach to} ~~any~~ life, love is ^{the} ~~an~~ ultimate goal, and love is ^{- Self-giving concern -} the highway leading to the City of God. In his teaching and in his personal behavior, objective and method were blended in one impelling passion - to seek the Kingdom of God by living as a true son of his Father. God is love and his relationships are always loving. ^{He} ~~God~~ is holy and righteous altogether; his holiness is always loving, and his love is always holy. He is God ^{of} all justice, and his justice is always ^{living} living. The grace of God pours rain upon the just and the unjust, and sends sunshine upon good and bad alike. The son within the household, and the son in a far country, ^{a like} are blessed by the Father's affection. The judgment of God is inexorable, reaping follows sowing; but the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is not most fully incarnated in a judge meting out legal justice. No, while we were yet sinners, he sent his son to bring about reconciliation and redemption. The justice of God is his forgiveness; because loving forgiveness is his way of establishing justice. Love is costly, and forgiveness exacts a heavy toll. ~~Our God is not an austere judge,~~ ^{an ardent} but ~~excessively~~ Father whose love for every child is beyond human comprehension. When we pray that ^{God's} ~~his~~ will may be done on earth, as it is in heaven, we are uttering petition for the ^{Coming of the} Beloved Community wherein love is ~~intended~~ at the same time end and means.

In the Garden of Gethsemane, Jesus sweated blood as he grappled with the problem, "Shall I save my life, or shall I save the way ^{of life} my Father has appointed for me?" He could preserve one or the other, but not both. Men of privilege and power looked upon him as heretic,

agitator and traitor, and were determined to stop his subversive and ~~his~~ precious comradeship with his Father, activities. The spiritual genius of Jesus, [^]enabled him to withstand the temptation to flee to a place of safety or to make terms with the ecclesiastical authorities. To the end he walked the way of love, and on the cross of pain and shame he prayed for the forgiveness of the men who were torturing him to death. Doing the will of God was an end, and also it was a means. The cross of Christ was not an isolated event in history; it is enduring revelation of the heart of the Eternal. Back through time immemorial, God has ~~suffered~~ suffered on a cross; and true sons of their Father must take up cross and follow in the steps of their crucified Lord. It is the will of God that we love him with our entire being, and that we love parent and brother, friend ~~neighbor~~ and enemy that way. God is love; he is suffering love; and for our reconciliation and redemption he groans with groanings which cannot be uttered. Discipleship imposes a mandate to seek the Kingdom of God, and to seek it in ways that he appoints for our lives. ~~and~~ ~~and~~ ~~and~~ The end is love, and love is the means.

agitator and traitor, and were determined to stop his activities. His understanding of religion clashed sharply with that of the ecclesiastical authorities; the recognition of all men as brothers and equals in God's sight

was his estimate of Jesus that his sentences appear to be exaggerated superlatives:

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God... In him was life, and the life was the light of men... And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father... For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life... I have food to eat of which you do not know... I am the bread of life... My teaching is not mine, but his who sent me... I am the door of the sheep... I am the way, ~~the~~ and the truth, and the life... All that the Father has is mine.

Professor Moffatt has somewhere gathered together New Testament titles bestowed upon Christ. ~~They~~ exhausted their vocabularies and were unable to express all that they thought of him, and what they meant is simply that

Christ is Godlike, and God is Christlike. This is the meaning of the incarnation. As phrased by the writer of the Book of Hebrews:

"In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son... He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature..."

← All this I have believed, and have tried to live as if I really ~~believe~~ am confident that Jesus Christ is the most complete revelation of God, and the very best Guide for us to follow. And this has been the heart of my personal gospel and of my social ~~message~~ message.

I believe in man, as the noblest creation of God. Housed in an animal body ^{is} an immortal spirit, endowed by ^{the} Creator with all the faculties needed to enable him to live a good life and to dwell with his fellows in right relations. This magnificent equipment is entrusted to man, to be used with a substantial measure of ^{actual} freedom of choice. When used self-centeredly, this liberty become license to live ~~as~~ as an animal wallowing in the mire; when used to do the will of God in fellowship with his brethren, freedom becomes an instrument of abundant and eternal life. The record stretching from earliest dawn of ^{human} consciousness ⁵ make it plain that man is a sinner, with an awful range of evil-doing; but equally impressive is evidence that man is a potential saint, with boundless

capacity for the enjoyment of truth and beauty and holiness, and deep yearning for comradeship with the Eternal in divine creativity. From Jesus I have learned that the most significant aspect of personality is ^{proneness} not ~~inclination~~ to sin, or record of sinfulness, but this craving for loving human fellowship, and this aspiration for reverent communion with God.

Consider the degree to which Jesus was vindicated in his trust of the twelve and the seventy. They became instruments in the hands of the living God, and through ~~them~~ ^{the} their fidelity to ~~the~~ ^{the} living Lord, he swerved the river-bed of human history. It is the simple truth to say that every person in the western world ^{is now} ~~is now~~ living in a different environment, and is part of a more elevated society, because Peter and James and John, and their successors, took up their own cross and followed the crucified Master. By what standard of judgment ^{would} ~~could~~ a modern personnel director ^{be} ~~have~~ been able to ~~select~~ ^{select} ~~select~~ have ~~chosen~~ ^{chosen} from the masses of Palestine four score men who would so mightily rock the foundations of that ancient society, and lay ^{cornerstones} ~~foundations~~ for the conquering church of Christ? The plain fact is ~~recorded~~ that among them there were not many educated in this world's learning, not many who possessed gold and silver and land, not many who sat in high places of pomp and power. They were "unimportant" ^{and obscure} ~~unimportant~~ fishermen, ~~nobodies~~, tax-collectors, peasants, upon whom God Almighty placed the stamp of supreme worth, and ^{charged} ~~placed~~ their lives with currents of divine energy. In the record it is written that Jesus knew what was in man - selfishness, sensuality, greed, cruelty, pride. Yes, Jesus knew that man is a sinner, ^a ~~a~~ particular kind of sinner, equipped with ability to confess, to repent, ^{to} ~~to~~ turn about, to accept forgiveness, to hunger and thirst after goodness, to yearn for the living God as a wild fawn craves water in a thirsty land, to follow wherever his Lord leads, to become a fellow-worker in divine creativity.

was his estimate of Jesus that he made use of every supernatural

Throughout my preaching and in my writing, I have stressed the dual nature of man - a sinner who descends into foulest depths, and a child of God who ascends to ^{sublimest} heights of love. Much of my time has been spent in exposure. One of my books - which was honored as ^{a selection} ~~best of the year~~ by the Religious Book Club - was devoted to a ^{study} ~~study~~ in contrasts between the way of Jesus and the practices of his followers, century after century. The record leaves no room for doubt that man is a sinner. But my chief concern has been to emphasize the truth spoken by our Lord - "these things shall ye do, and greater things" because of divine power. Jesus felt the shame of a sinful woman, but beneath the paint and perfume he beheld the image of God, the essence of purity and holiness. He knew ^{generous} the heart of covetous, grasping Zacchaeus; and he saw bedrock of character in Simon Peter even while his disciple swore oaths that he did not even know the Master. The conviction has steadily deepened in ~~my mind~~ ^{my mind} that it is not only dangerous to underestimate human ^{also} capacity for sinfulness, but ~~also~~ perilous to place low estimate of worth upon man, and to have feeble faith in his power to achieve noble character and to become an effective co-worker with God in divine business. 5

Frequently I have called attention to human greed and exploitation in our economic order, and corruption in politics. Many addresses and chapters have dealt with imperialism and subjugation of weaker peoples by so-called Christian powers.

This is the way I expressed it, in a devotional reading which was reprinted in The Readers Digest:

Blue Book n 7

I believe in the Kingdom of God, to be sought faithfully and expectantly on this earth, and to be fully consummated in the ages to come. God's reign in human hearts and in social relations is past, present and future. To the degree that he rules, there his Kingdom has come. The continuing duty and ^{privilege} ~~responsibility~~ of man is to accept ^{holy} ~~divine~~ resources and use them as a ^{belong} ~~co~~-worker with God and Christ in extending the divine reign into every realm of life.

Attempted demonstrations of the impossibility of the Kingdom of God coming perfectly on earth are less relevant to the Christian task, than persistent endeavor to accept God's reign in personal relations, and untiring zeal in working with him for its extension across the whole of life. Obsession with the impossibility of creating the divine society on earth is itself a primary cause of the slowness of our march to the ^{beloved} ~~city~~ of God. Hope and eager expectancy are warranted by the resources at our disposal - the will of God that his reign become universal, the guidance of his Holy Spirit, the companionship of the living Christ, and that of God in every man. "Now abideth faith, and hope, and love." Even though love is the greatest of these, hope is essential to fidelity of creative endeavor. It is unthinkable that Jesus would mock his disciples by teaching them to pray for that which he knew to be impossible of achievement. "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." How rapidly and how completely this prayer can be answered is beyond human knowledge. But this is certain - no man is wise enough to set limits to what can be wrought by divine resources. ^{remember} We do well to, the depth of depravity into which man so often falls; to realize that in impersonal, corporate relations, confronting problems of complexity and immensity, sinning by syndicate cannot, on the part of fallible and sinful creatures, be completely avoided; ^{and} to confront life with humble and penitent hearts. But in all consideration of the coming of the Kingdom on earth, we must ^{not} permit pessimistic judgments to dampen the ~~work~~ ^{work} of hope that God, ~~working~~ in us and through us, will ~~work miracle after miracle~~, ^{continue} not only in the natural order, but also in the social order.

Man is not God ^{and cannot} ~~that he should~~ measure the ^{outer} ~~inner~~ limits of the ^{holy city} ~~beloved~~ community on earth.

do mighty work after mighty work,

snuff out the candle

Not even the dynamic faith of the early Christians enabled them to foresee the vast social ^{improvements} ~~social changes~~ which have already taken place on this earth. The ~~strong~~ record of transformation should make us ~~cautious~~ cautious about saying bluntly that the Kingdom of God cannot come on earth. The most enlightened mind in the early church, ^{that of Saint Paul,} so far as we have evidence, never contemplated the possibility that chattel slavery as an institution could be abolished. An eminent scholar ~~has~~ says, ~~written~~ "No New Testament writer condemns the institution of slavery, or even advises Christian masters to free their slaves." Masters were admonished to treat slaves kindly, as fellow Christians; slaves were urged to be obedient, and to feel kindly toward their Christian masters. Apparently, the idea never dawned upon Saint Paul that women should be accorded equal status with men. He shared the ^{conviction} ~~idea~~ which prevailed almost everywhere until day before yesterday - man must command, women must obey. So deeply entrenched not only in ^{history} ~~practice~~, but in thinking, were the practices of human slavery and male domination, that the changes ^{now} in status which have [^] taken place were thought of as remote possibilities only by few minds, even in the church of the living Christ.

¶ The early church practiced democracy within its own ranks, but there is no evidence, or very little indeed, that its leaders foresaw the coming on this earth of such a democracy as we now enjoy, ^{even} with ^{disfiguring} ~~its~~ imperfections. ~~Even~~ The Christian founding fathers of this nation viewed with trepidation the possibility of rule by all the people - including former slaves, indentured servants, propertyless workers and hired hands, Indians, Roman Catholics, ~~and~~ Jews - and women. Within ^{our} ~~of~~ lifetime and has been the idea has taken deep root, and [^] implanted in our institutions, that we the people should use government as an instrument to serve our common well-being. And now we are in the midst of one of the great revolutions of all time - the assumption by the ^{people of the} United States, and by the United Nations, ^{everywhere} that all of us are responsible for the common welfare around the earth, and that the strong should bear the burdens of the weak. No 8

Highly impressive

being. ~~Most incredible~~ ^{hundred years} is the growth of the sense of mutual responsibility during the past ~~century~~. We now take it for granted that

we should pay the bills for the education of our children, but that

was a radical idea in the early part of last century. ^{Moreover,} We are now from common funds, ^{facilities} providing ourselves with cultural and recreational features on an

ever expanding scale. ^{the richer states} The people of ~~the world~~ are developing a sense

of responsibility for the education of white and black children in states with a lower income.

~~Moreover~~ ^{seeking} More and more we are ~~assuming~~ responsibility for our common economic welfare through social legislation and an expansive

system of social security. And now we are in the midst of one of

the great revolutions of all time - the assumption by the people of

the United States, and by the United Nations, that all of us everywhere

are responsible for the common welfare around the earth, and that the

strong should bear the burdens of the weak. All over the world evidence

is accumulating that man is not only capable of collective iniquity and

collective bestialism, but also that he is learning, slowly but surely,

in spite of much zigzagging back and forth, to practice collective

~~selflessness~~ ^{and forgiveness} and mercy and cooperation for the common good. Man is

so endowed by the Eternal that it is possible for him to "seek first

the Kingdom of God and his righteousness." The mighty transformation

wrought in the lives of the early Christians, and the enrichment of

human life since that ^{period} ~~era~~, provide ^{a solid basis} ~~ample warrant~~ for hope that the

reign of God on earth may constantly be expanded.

Goodwill toward former enemies has now reached a stupendous volume, and forgiveness of peoples ~~perpetrating terrible acts of inhumanity~~ who perpetrated terrible acts of inhumanity is widely prevalent.

In one of my devotional columns, I expressed this conviction:

*p 10
Blue Book*

Jesus put his teaching in the setting of a divine home. God is our Father. This he believed with unmatched intensity, and this he taught with joyous enthusiasm. Love is preeminent among all relationships, and reaches its pinnacle in God's affection for his children, one by one. If human parents are concerned, and delight in giving their children every possible good gift, how very much more does our heavenly Father rejoice in blessing his people. In a true home, affection is pervasive of all relationships, and leads to sharing. Every member is an object of solicitude, considerateness, and lovingkindness. The intensity of parental love is not measured by height or weight, ~~or by~~ ~~by the color of the skin~~, or by grades of intelligence or degrees of goodness. In himself or herself every child possesses inherent and priceless worth as a member of the home. That is God's attitude, only his evaluation is enhanced as far beyond that of human love as the heavens are higher than the earth. Every prodigal is of supreme worth in himself; every human being is of more value than a sparrow or any other creature. The color of a man's skin is of less significance to God than the color of a daughter's hair is to a mother; the dialect of a person plays no greater part in divine ^{evaluation} ~~judgment~~ than right-handedness does in parental affection. The Eternal is less likely to discriminate against white people than a mother is to penalize a daughter because of her fair complexion. The most radical teaching ever given on earth, the most radical because it goes deepest down to the roots of moral values, is the good news proclaimed by Jesus that every soul of every race in every place possesses precious worth in God's sight, and is the object of divine solicitude.

To all this my mind long ago assented, and I have endeavored to
 thinking
 embody these truths in my ~~attitudes~~ and in my behavior. Nothing seems
 more certain to me than that God's attitude toward ~~Negroes~~ Caucasians
 is precisely the same as his attitude toward Negroes and all other
 members of his household, and that in the great unending beyond, all
 racial and national and class ~~backgrounds~~ backgrounds will be ~~of no consequence~~
 of no consequence whatever. If I am to take Jesus seriously and follow
 his guidance, then it is plain that I must accept as valid and right
 the idea of ~~the~~ equality of all races, and must oppose racial segre-
 its every
 gation in ~~all~~ forms. This is not to say that every white man is
 in ability or in achievement
 equal to every Negro, any more than it is true to say that every
 member of a home is equal in intelligence and moral virtue to every
 other relative. I believe in the equality of all races in the sense
 status
 that every man possesses the same ~~standing~~ before God as every other
 individual; that every person is loved with all ~~divine~~ ^{affection}, that
~~there~~ human body there
 within every ~~man~~ is a divine temple, a sacred altar, where God may
 be met. I believe in the equality of all races in the sense that
 of us all, and we are living
~~God is our Father~~ God is our Father, ~~and all are~~ relatives in
 his home. The Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are
 bed-rock foundations
~~cornerstones~~ of racial equality. Many years ago I was privileged to
 share a ~~fourth~~ cabin at the Hollister Student Conference with
 Howard Thurman. Deep into my soul went these words: "Kirby, what
 that which
 we Negroes want is the same as ~~what~~ you white people want. (We long
 for the same freedom which you covet.) We want to be treated the way
 you desire to be treated. We want to be looked upon as human beings,
 as fellow Christians, not as Negroes." Surely, this reflects the feelings
 of God himself.

K

perience warns us to be on guard against totalitarianism. We must be cautious about giving government a monopoly, as we have been in the field of public education, and as we surely will be in the area of public health. Along with British socialists and Norman Thomas, I have never advocated common ownership through government of all property. Instead, a mixed system has seemed best, with the commanding heights of industries tending toward ^{private} monopoly under control of the people through government, and with much cooperation among consumers and citizens. Indeed, a just criticism of our present social order is that there is not a sufficiently wide ownership of private property in users' and consumers' goods. We do not have enough private property for use, whereas we have too much concentration of private property of the instruments of economic power.

Long before 1921 I had become aware of the evils of racial discrimination and segregation. So in public address I contrasted the requirements of the Christian life with prevailing practices. ⁹⁷ My conviction about the equality of races in God's sight was deepened by experience, as I moved in and out of Negro colleges and churches and conferences. Friendship is the best antidote to prejudice. So with increasing fervor I preached the Christian gospel of brotherhood with its demand for equality of opportunity and equality of status. *No 77*

13
(R)

The privileges I enjoyed enabled me to grasp the significance of a remark once made by a gentleman on a train. One Sunday morning I had preached at the Negro college at Prairie View, Texas, and had been a guest in the home of its Negro president. When I boarded the train for Houston, I discovered that I was in a Jim Crow car. The conductor motioned me to come on back, and I took a seat beside an elderly white

he inquired when I was born.
When I replied, "in East Texas,"
he then

white man. He was curious to know why I got on that station. This gave me a chance to tell him what a wonderful dinner I had enjoyed at the president's home, and to speak of the culture and charm of my host and hostess. After a moment of silence, ~~he~~ said, ~~he~~, "You haven't lived all your life in Texas, have you?" This conversation emphasized the importance of a favorable environment to Christian practices.

Christian pacifism was an important element in my social gospel. Experience in the war zone, serious study and much reflection, convinced me of the irreconcilability of the Christian gospel and the method of war, and in 1916 I joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the year after it was founded. My religion drove me to pacifism. The way of Jesus seemed to afford no place within its domain for the practices of war. Increasingly the conviction possessed me that the way of war is contrary to the will of God and should never be sanctioned. Probably more addresses were devoted to this theme than to any other. Calling myself a pacifist Christian, I rarely referred to myself as an absolutist, preferring the designation Christian with pacifist convictions. My mind has long been made up that sanctioning war would for me be nothing less than rebellion against God's will.

For many years I stressed the practical value of pacifist Christianity in abolishing war. But with the passing of time the emphasis shifted to its rightness. Because of the conviction that war is contrary to the will of God, I must not sanction it or engage directly in its destructive activities, no matter what the consequences may be. It has become increasingly apparent that a citizen cannot completely disentangle himself from the war system. But he can withhold his consent to armed hostilities, he can refuse to place confidence in the method of war, and he can be a conscientious objector to war. This does not completely absolve him from guilt, and it is imperative that he live penitently and humbly.

And thus it came about that throughout my public ministry I have been an advocate of racial equality, and have opposed racial discrimination, segregation and exploitation. Many sermons and much writing have been devoted to the presentation of facts about the extent and significance of segregation in employment, segregation in housing, segregation in access to public privileges, and segregation in education, ^{segregation in} churches. In my own attitudes and relationships, I have endeavored to rise above the spirit of segregation. ~~My life has been blessed~~ with many Negro friends, and it has been my privilege to speak in Negro colleges and churches all over the South and in other sections. Some of ~~our~~ ^{the} most honored guests in our home have been members of other races. The burden of my message has been that it is not enough for white people to be kindly and considerate as long as Negroes "stay in their places;" it is mandatory upon Christians ^{white} that we accord to Negroes and ^{other peoples} ~~members of other races~~ a status of equality with ourselves as relatives in our Father's home. For forty years in public forums I have faced the question of racial intermarriage, and my answer has always been two-fold. I have stressed the difficulty of making a success of marriage, the desirability of ~~a~~ maximum ~~rather~~ favorable factors and ~~a~~ minimum ~~unfavorable~~ influences. Many times I have sounded warnings against ignoring backgrounds, and lifted up for consideration the ^{future} ~~of a mixed marriage.~~ ^{of} ~~consequences for~~ children. But my mind has long been clear that if two individuals are ^{truly} ~~convincing~~ in love, ^{thought} ~~are~~ have seriously ~~considered~~ ^{about} the various factors involved, and ^{are clear} ~~are~~ that they ought to become husband and wife, they have my ardent best wishes. ^{Surely, such a} ~~Such~~ marriage "is blessed in heaven."

As I look over old records, I am thrilled by the reminder
 that ~~in 1911~~ twenty-five years ago we were conducting interracial
 student conferences ^{Non-segregated} in several Southern states ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ Georgia, Alabama and other Southern states ~~and~~

~~non-segregated basis~~ ^{held} At a state conferences of the Student
 Volunteer Movement in Atlanta, I preached on Sunday morning in ~~the~~
 the Peachtree Christian Church to a congregation of white ^{people} and
~~colored people~~ ^{Negroes} seated together in the sanctuary. In Alabama
 I spoke at a state student conference, with delegates from sixteen
 colleges, where there was no segregation. Nearly thirty years
 ago the regional student conference ^{held every summer} at Hollister, Missouri, attended
 by white and Negro students from Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma and
 Texas, ~~which was conducted without~~ ^{abolished all} segregation. In 1931
 six of us who were members of the Town Hall Club in New York
 suggested the admission of Negroes to membership, and offered to
 submit nominations. When we were told that Negroes would not be
 accepted, we resigned from the club in protest.

An experience at Tulane University, in New Orleans, is embedded
 in my memory. ^{As} My chapel address ended, ~~just as~~ ^{the first} student began ^{filing}
^{into the dining room.} ~~their noon meal.~~ Knowing that my Negro hosts were preparing to
 serve me in a private room, I hastened to suggest that I preferred
 to eat with the students. After an embarrassing pause, word came
 that it would be all right for me to do this. ^{over}

At Lakeland, Florida, we had a Fellowship conference with
 Negroes and whites sitting together. ~~without segregation~~ Moreover,
 we were able to eat luncheon together without segregation, in
 one of the churches. At that time I wrote to a friend: (2)

The substance of this devotional reading
 was repeated often in sermons and articles. 21

In Jacksonville, Florida, Alma and I were guests in the home of Reverend and Mrs . He was pastor of a Negro church, said to be the oldest church in the city. We were thrilled by a beautiful rendering of The Hallelujah Chorus by ~~students from the Negro high school.~~

↑
Negro young people

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2

March 28, 1939

My dear Mrs. Forbes:

Upon returning home after a long absence I find your good letter. We are still hoping that you will get to California and be able to see the members of our family. It was kind of you to send the cards from Bethlehem.

2

The long tour across the continent which I have just completed proved to be one of the most interesting and rewarding that I have ever made. I began at the University of Arizona and then went to Prairie View, Texas, where I had a wonderful time at a State Teachers College for Negroes. I preached there on Sunday morning and had a fine forum in the afternoon. Sunday dinner with the Negro President and his wife and two Negro guests proved to be highly enjoyable and satisfying. Then I went to Tulane University in New Orleans and on to the State University of Louisiana at Baton Rouge. I was shocked to find that at the latter place a good many undergraduates are living in barracks under military discipline. And that in peaceful America! On the way to the University of Florida I stopped at Jackson, Mississippi, and Birmingham, Alabama. Three profitable days were spent at the University of Florida. At Lakeland, Florida, we had a Fellowship Conference which was interracial in personnel. It was significant that we were able to have luncheon together in one of the churches without segregation. Six rewarding days were spent in South Carolina and North Carolina. At Rock Hill I spoke four times at a State Student Conference with delegations present from practically all the white institutions of the state. At Durham I participated in another State Student Conference, this one being interracial with delegates from all over the state from both Negro and white colleges. I was glad indeed to be able to speak at both a Negro college and a Negro high school.

Every time I visit the South I am impressed with the progress being made among students in overcoming racial barriers; intelligently and courageously small groups are seriously tackling the race problem and there is much promise in the prevailing trend. In Baltimore I spoke at Morgan College, a Negro institution, and at a forum in one of the large Negro churches. It just happens that on this trip I was able to speak before Negro audiences more frequently than has usually been possible. I always find them appreciative and responsive. They are on the average as alert as the white audiences.

Then I had a series of engagements in Pennsylvania and New York, including a State Teachers College at Shippensburg, an Institute of International Relations in Philadelphia, a Regional Student

Mrs. Rose D. Forbes:

Conference at Buck Hill Falls with delegations present from various colleges in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. I was able to participate in Institutes of International Relations at Wilkes Barre, Newburg and Niagara Falls. Then I started West, speaking at Sewickley, Pennsylvania, Park College in Missouri, the University of Nebraska, York, Grand Island and at a State Student Conference at Wayne, Nebraska. All along the line I was able to sell many copies of my books, thus increasing the permanence of my visits. In many ways this trip was as satisfying and rewarding as any series of meetings that I have ever had. As a rule the audiences were highly responsive to my messages. It is a great life!

After a good rest here at home I am starting on another six weeks trip which will take me through New Mexico, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa. When I will have a month at home!

Cordially yours,

Mrs. Rose D. Forbes
280 Adams Street
Wilton, Mass.

KP:MK

~~and~~ the most radical aspect of ~~the most~~ radical teaching has
 to do with attitudes toward an evildoer, and with behavior when
 facing ~~an enemy with dangerous intentions~~ from an enemy. During the long
 span of time while the Bible was being written, three answers were
 given to the question, What shall I do with my enemy? First, resort
 to unlimited retaliation, seek vengeance seventy times seven; Second,
 be fair and give him justice, take only one eye for an eye. Third,
 love him, face him with self-giving concern for his wellbeing and
 fervent yearning for his transformation and redemption, and forgive
 seventy times seven. There is no valid exegesis by which these
 relationships can be harmonized into a single ethical mandate.
 Thus we hear Jesus saying, "It used to be said unto you ... but I
 say unto you." ^{Let us remember,} "While we were yet sinners, Christ died for the
 ungodly." The grace of God does not flow unevenly. "The rain falls
 alike on the just and the unjust; the sun shines upon the good and the
 bad alike." ^{Can} If a virtuous wife ^{love} a wicked husband, and is able
 to forgive his worst offences, how infinitely beyond this is the
 love and forgiveness of God, even when in a far country we spend
 our lives in riotous living and in defiance of divine affection.
 So we find Jesus admonishing his disciples to love the Romans, to
 treat them with ^{the} self-giving concern which they themselves are ^{viewed} ~~being~~
~~agitated~~ by God, in order to be his true sons. At this point especially,
 we must envisage Jesus under an army of occupation, with his people
 suffering the awful fate of subjugation. Yes, he ^{Solicitous for} ~~concerned about~~ the
 Romans. They are beloved members of the ^{divine} household, ~~of God~~. Here we
 are confronted with ultimate insight into the character of God.

In the light of this awe-inspiring love of God for sinners *even* while they ^{remain} ~~are~~ in iniquity, we should evaluate ^{the} ~~not~~ capital punishment as a means of dealing with criminals. Surely, this is a sub-Christian way of ^{that} ~~returning~~ ^{claiming} eye for eye, a given amount of crime and a corresponding degree of retaliation. A hundred times in sermons I have expressed opposition to hanging or electrocuting a man or woman in whom there is ^{the image} ~~that~~ of God, a fellow sinner who has committed some terrible offence against society. The prevalence of this practice is clear evidence that the community does not take seriously the idea ^{that} that we should overcome evil with good, ~~that~~ we should have reverence for human life, ~~and~~ we should seek to transform and redeem even the worst of our brothers. The fact that many of the most deeply religious people, the most respected citizen ^{s,} give their approval to capital punishment ^{lights stamps} ~~holds up~~ a low estimate ^{of} ~~upon~~ ^{upon} the worth of human life. Our literature is filled with the idea, and television programs constantly reflect it, that shooting the guilty in defence of the innocent is permissible, indeed it is praiseworthy when done to uphold the law. ^{we} ~~children~~ grow up so habituated to the practice of killing in the name of high values that ^{only with great difficulty can we} ~~they cannot~~ develop a feeling of reverence for ^{human} life because it is created in God's image and is a place where he may be found. What our society really says is that ~~that~~ a good man should be treated with respect, whereas it is right to ^{a brother} ~~execute~~ ~~forfeit~~ the life of ~~unrepentant~~ who resists arrest or is adjudged guilty of a specified degree of crime. This low evaluation of ^{worth} ~~the~~ human ~~life~~ is responsible for much degradation, exploitation and cruelty. The practice of an eye for an eye ^{taking} ~~was~~ was explicitly repudiated by our Lord, and replaced by ^{allegiance} ~~adherence~~ to the will of God that every person be treated with respect and with reverence ~~because~~ because of who he is.

Jesus' way of treating wrongdoers requires a three-fold program.
~~in dealing with criminals~~ ^{of Crime} First, recognition that prevention is the
 only adequate procedure. Wholesome environment, the contagion of ^{affection}
^{leaving} ~~personality~~ ^a in the home where there is sufficient income and
 enough privacy, moral and religious instruction, provisions for creative
 use of time - these are means of ^{prevention} ~~preventing~~ crime. If the cost, in money
 and energy and personal discipline, is considered too heavy to pay, crime
 is certain to be widespread. Criminals can be made faster than they
 can be executed or rehabilitated. Second, where confinement is essential
 for the protection of society and the cure of the wrongdoer, the purpose
 should not be punishment, but restoration. A minimum condition is that
 first offenders be separated from hardened and ^{apparently} incurable individuals.
 Meaningful employment and creative opportunity must be provided, and
 every effort made to strength^{en} individual self-respect. Educational
 facilities should be open to prisoners, and psychiatric, moral and
 religious guidance afforded. If we say, ^{"t} This is too expensive, and
 besides it is folly to coddle criminals, and continue to subject inmates
 to degrading and demoralizing experience^s, the consequence^s will ~~be~~ be
 heavier expense in maintainⁱⁿg the police and prison system, and the ^{continued suffering} ~~losses~~ ^{losses from crime,}
 steady manufacture of ^{additional} ~~more~~ criminals. Third, where ^{evidence} ~~experience~~ makes
 it plain that ^{an} ~~the~~ individual is psychopathic or criminally insane, indeterminate
 confinement should be continued under wholesome conditions that meet with
 the approval of ^{all} the forgiving Father of us. This is not a new problem for followers of
 our Lord. In all his ^{contacts} ~~dealings~~ with offenders, moral delinquents and
 mentally afflicted persons, he dealt with them compassionately, and
 often brought about cure. Long have I believed that allegiance to Jesus
 Christ imposed^s an obligation and offers a privilege of proclaiming the
 good news to captives also. They too are created in God's likeness,
 and have power to repent, accept forgiveness, and become new men and women.

18 210 A

~~Existing~~

a year later,

← Winston Churchill, ~~on September 24th of the next year,~~ in a popular British periodical, declared:

From one end of Germany to the other an intense hatred of France unites the whole population. This passion is fanned continuously by the French government. The enormous contingents of German youth growing to military manhood year by year are inspired by the fiercest sentiments and the soul of Germany smoulders with dreams of a war of liberation or revenge... Germany is a far stronger entity than France, and cannot be kept in permanent subjugation.

A citizen in wartime is necessarily involved in the war effort, but he has a choice of ways of engaging in the war. He may voluntarily become a soldier, or accept conscription for this purpose, and thereafter take part as combatant in war's destruction and slaughter. On the other hand, he may choose to become a conscientious objector, ~~and refuse to take part as an armed belligerent.~~ In both cases the citizen ~~is~~ takes part in the war effort, but in substantially different ways. Voluntary, direct participation in war is different from involuntary, indirect involvement.

VIII

In 1923 I spent the summer in Europe, and returned to the United States greatly distressed by what I had seen and heard, especially in Germany and France. In the fall of that year I published a pamphlet, voicing my alarm at the prospects of another world war. The evidence ^{clear} was ~~convincing~~ that France was endeavoring to destroy Germany as a great power, so I wrote:

French fear has ⁵ destroyed the foundations of French security. It has resulted in a blind trust in military power and has destroyed confidence in other means of protection. It has, therefore, perpetuated militarism and hindered all efforts to establish effective international processes of justice. It has enormously intensified the bitterness and hatred on the part of millions of Germans, and has ~~thereby~~ thereby increased the possibilities of a war of revenge in another generation... Judged by temporary visible results, the well-rounded policy of France seems to be succeeding. Germany is completely at her mercy... Sooner or later French military domination of Europe is sure to be challenged by a combination of other powers. The lesson of history at this point is clear and unmistakable. There is no security in military power... France is blind. Security cannot be achieved by converting Europe into a perpetual barracks... The more France depends upon military power and the more vigorously she seeks to crush her enemies, the more unstable becomes her own security, and the more certain becomes her ultimate downfall.

28 A From a hundred platforms and pulpits, my conviction ^{5 were} ~~was~~ expressed that France, backed by her allies, was driving mankind into another great war; that economic ruin, hatred and passion for vengeance in Germany would destroy the German Republic, drive her people into the arms of reckless militarists, and ^{precipitate} ~~provoke~~ war. In seeking the ~~restoration and preservation~~ restoration and preservation of peace, ^{it was evident that} priority should be given to an endeavor to help Germany solve ^{her} ~~her~~ problems. Often I used the figure ten billion dollars as an amount that would help greatly to put Germany on her feet economically and financially - ^{assistance} ~~in~~ in the form of long-time, low-interest loans. I was among the advocates of ~~the~~ cancellation of reparations and inter-allied war debts, although this would have placed a considerable burden upon the American people, ^{The hope was in} ~~and setting down to~~ a fresh start in building a sound world economy.

Instead of following a policy which would have rendered futile the ravings of a fanatical foreigner in the beer gardens of Munich, the Allies played into Hitler's hands time after time, and must accept heavy responsibility for ~~his~~ his election to the Presidency of Germany. The rise of a military dictator could be foreseen as far back as 1923.

In the momentous years between the world wars, statesmen of nations that called themselves Christian rarely paid even lip service to the way of the Prince of Peace, as the highway to international justice, goodwill and peace. The "practical" men, when they thought about Jesus, dismissed him as utopian and perfectionist; and, with their good intentions, led the nations straight into the hell of universal war.

at all
and traditional minds,

It was ~~also~~ evident that Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles ^{article} would continue to be a war-breeder as long as it was maintained. ^{In this ~~circumstance~~ the} ~~There is the~~ justification of the severity of the measures against defeated Germany ^{justified by the ~~other~~ on the ground} was ~~placed in the contention~~ that since Germany caused the war, she must pay the penalties of defeat. The refusal of the Allies to make substantial reductions in armaments, ^{while persisting in} ~~and~~ their denial of the right of re-armament to Germany, were primary factors in the rise of Hitlerism.

From the beginning, I was an ardent advocate of the League of Nations, and was among ^{those} ~~the company~~ who believed that Article 11 was the chief hope of restoring and maintaining peace, the right of the League to initiative peaceable change in war-breeding situations. The burden of my message between the two world wars was that the price of peace included adequate assistance to the handicapped and aggrieved nations, the have-nots who found themselves frustrated and dominated by ~~political~~ policies of ~~the~~ Money, France, Great Britain and the United States. ^{Money} ~~Money~~ spent, and energy ^{urgent} devoted to helping Germany, Italy and Japan solve their ~~difficult and death~~ problems ^{on} were essential to the prevent^{ion} of World War II. In those days many of us were advocating a kind of Marshall Plan and a Point Four program of mutual assistance. The effort to keep Germany weak and to ^{combine} ~~keep~~ Japan ~~weak~~ proved to be fatal. Germany dismembered, reduced to economic ruin, aggrieved and filled with hatred and passion for vengeance - such a neighbor was far more dangerous to France than would ^{have} been Germany, with a well established republic, a prosperous people, accorded equal status and admitted to the League of Nations, and equally disarmed with the Allies.

20 A

independent

When I began my ~~public~~ work in 1921, the movement for imperialist expansion was ~~still~~ strong. It had been greatly accelerated by the war with Spain and the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. The policy of armed intervention in other lands in behalf of American property and life was entrenched. In one of my books, I published a list of more than one hundred cases where the government of the United States ^{had in a hundred years,} used armed force, without a declaration of war, in forty-five different countries. I was among those who took a public stand against the movement for the in-

In 1926

definite retention of the Philippines. Sherwood Eddy and I brought out an abbreviated edition, in paper covers, of Moorfield Storey's controversial volume, The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States.

In response to ^{our} request, sixty-six prominent citizens, joined in signing a Foreword which urged the setting of a date when full independence would be granted to the people of the Philippine Islands. I spoke frequently against ~~imperialism~~ economic imperialism, the practice of maintaining control of foreign peoples, especially in Central America, by the use of the financial and economic power of the United States; ^{and in} ~~in~~ several

^{and various articles,}
~~books,~~ ^I ~~opposed~~ ^{opposed} this policy.

^{take an} ~~the~~ United States could ^{stand} ~~not~~ effective ~~action~~ against the imperialism of European nations, our government must ^{first} abandon enforced control over other peoples.

Thirty years ago, in a small pamphlet, I suggested the creation of a Department of Peace in our Federal Government, with a Secretary of Peace with Cabinet rank, with ^{and} an annual budget of one hundred millions/ dollars.

~~This was not a serious proposal.~~ My proposal was thus summarized:

The activities of the department would be two-fold in character: first, the general supervision of an extensive program of peace education throughout the United States; second, the cultivation of friendly relations with the peoples of other nations. The methods of the educational campaign would include: the presentation of information concerning the peoples of other lands, especially with regard to their cultural, moral and social achievements; the presentation of data concerning the ~~unpleasant~~ practices of our own citizens which seem objectionable to other nations and which constitute a menace to international peace; the presentation of data concerning the accomplishments of international agencies of various kinds and an interpretation of their significance; the presentation of evidence revealing the wastefulness and ineffectiveness of the war system.

I presented a rough, illustrative budget of expenditures for ^{the proposed} ~~this~~ Department of Peace, and brought the figures together in this summary:

Thus we see that a national peace budget of approximately one hundred million dollars annually would provide for the following major items: a Department of Peace, with a Secretary of Peace and an adequate staff; ten regional offices in the United States, each with ten regional secretaries; forty foreign offices, each with five foreign secretaries; an editor-in-chief of peace publications and an adequate staff; the free circulation of a million copies of a monthly peace magazine; the free circulation of twelve million copies of peace booklets annually; the distribution of a huge quantity of peace posters; the production of twenty peace moving picture films each year; the free distribution of fifty selected books on international problems to twenty thousand libraries; the support of ten thousand American students abroad, and ten thousand foreign students in our colleges and universities; the support of two hundred American professors abroad, and two hundred foreign professors in this country; the maintenance of an International University, including scholarships for two thousand students; the maintenance of one thousand professors of international relations in ~~our~~ American colleges, and five thousand such professors in our high schools; the maintenance of one hundred summer camps and the payment of the camp expenses of forty thousand young men and women each year; the promotion of an annual peace day; the conducting of twenty World Friendship Cruises annually; the erection of peace monuments; and the support of numerous international projects.

I realized, of course, that in the form ~~it was~~ presented, this was not a ^{political} practicable proposal. It was offered as a possible stimulus to thought and action as to ways of waging peace.

From the time I first set foot on English soil in 1916, I have ~~been~~
~~been~~ been living with problems of war and peace. Everything
~~knowing~~ says to me, it
 I know about God as he is disclosed in Jesus Christ ~~and his~~ ^{to} give ~~my~~ consent and approval to
 would be contrary to ^{his} will ~~and~~ for my life ~~and~~ the method of
 military combat, and voluntarily and directly ~~to~~ participate in the destructive
 activities of war. At the Oxford ecumenical conference, ^{in 1937,} delegates from many
 communions and most parts of Christendom declared in an official resolution:

War involves compulsory enmity, diabolical outrage against human per-
 sonality, and a wanton distortion of the truth. War is a particular
 demonstration of the power of sin in the world and a defiance of the
 righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and him crucified.
 No justification of war must be allowed to conceal or minimize this
 fact.

^{attested}
 This statement, so widely ~~endorsed~~ as a minimum Christian estimate of war,
 may well be ~~examined~~ studied in detail. As ^{I have} reflect ^{at} upon its signif-
 icance, questions ^{have} take shape in my mind. Should my consent be given to
 compulsory enmity and diabolical outrage? Should I approve of a ~~method of defense~~
 of Christ's cross and
 which is a demonstration of sin, and a defiance of God's righteousness?
 Should I in a special situation, where the threat to spiritual values is
 ominous, conceal or minimize this fact?

Over a span of many years, I have gathered ^{memories} ~~declaration~~ of Christian
 leaders and Christian assemblies that war is sin, war is the world's most
^{social} colossal sin, and have quoted these ^{utterances} ~~convictions~~ in many sermons. In a 1934
 Armistice day message, three hundred outstanding American churchmen, including
 and forty-five college presidents,
 sixty bishops, went on record:

The time has come when organized religion must proclaim that never
 again shall war be waged under the sanction of the church... War has
 always been ~~unavoidably~~ bloody and brutal. It is now an atrocity...
 Modern war is suicide.

← With thousands of other Christians, I have taken these words seriously,
 atrocity, and for me
 and have founded my message on these truths, war is ~~unavoidable~~

war is sin. In a book published in 1939, my position was thus stated:

← The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America sent forth
 this ringing declaration:

War is the world's chief collective sin. We are convinced that
 the whole war system of the nations is unnecessary and unchristian."

As far back as 1916 I was driven to the conclusion that the method of war is not a lesser evil but a combination of the worst of all evils: indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, irrespective of the character of or the degree of their guilt, by explosive, fire, poison gas, and starvation-blockade; deliberate and massive use of false propaganda to engender hatred and to arouse brutal passions; corruption of religion by using it as a justification for venom and atrocity. If the method of war is not contrary to Jesus' way of life, then no method can be contrary to it; if we are not justified in reaching the judgment that the method of war is irreconcilable with his teaching and example, then we must conclude that Jesus has no distinctive message about the treatment of evildoers.

Believing all this, if I had consented to the waging of war and had declared ought to that my country ~~must become~~ become an armed belligerent against ~~the totalitarian powers~~ Prussian militarism, and later against the totalitarian powers, I have at least temporarily, and would h.b. would, in truth, been ~~repudiating~~ repudiating the way of Jesus, ~~and~~ approving a way which I knew to be atrocity and sin. ~~Insistent~~ This must be said with utmost plainness if my message is to be understood. *Insert (Z)*

words of
This negative judgment must be accompanied by positive conviction, and all though these years I have been expressing my thought about ways of preventing war, and about the behavior of Christians in wartime. But a further negative word must be said. "No justification of war must be allowed to conceal or minimize" the truth that war is defiance of Christ's cross and God's righteousness. Even if war appears to be the most effective means of defense, or ~~even~~ if no other way seems ~~as~~ adequate to preserve high values, still, in this case and in every other situation, the method of war continues to be a repudiation of the way of our Lord. If war is supported, ~~even~~ it is advocacy ~~of~~ of a method which is recognized as contrary to the mind, and spirit and method of Jesus. The Christian conscience should not be diverted from this truth by the acknowledgement that many other attitudes and practices and institutions ^{also} are contrary to Jesus' way of life. When the problem of war is being considered, massive insistence must be maintained that war is atrocity and sin.

(Z) Much effort went into the persuasion of ministers to make a break with the war system and the endeavor to get the churches to declare it to be a sin. One of the distressing experiences of my life was at a meeting of the Federal Council of Churches in Dayton, where at the conclusion of my address on the theme "If war is sin," a bishop and a friend indignantly walked out of the meeting. A touch of humor was afforded by inability to find their hats and obvious discomfiture as they sternered about the rear of the church.

The fact is often pointed out that it is impossible to live in ~~an~~
~~any country, even in wartime, without being involved in the waging of war~~ without
contributing to the war effort, and that therefore it is a futile gesture
to declare oneself a conscientious objector to war. It is true that in
an imperfect society there is no way to remain completely unentangled by
prevailing social sins. In a city where low wages and bad housing ~~are~~
~~bring about an increase in prostitution~~, no citizen can say that his hands are perfectly clean. Wherever
racial segregation prevails, responsibility for its ~~continuation~~
continuation is corporate. But it is important to realize that there
are degrees and types of guilt. The exploiter who profits from high
rents for shacks in a Negro section is voluntarily and directly engaged
in evil-doing, and is thereby guilty in a different way from the man who
protests against segregation, and is actively working for its abolition,
but who nevertheless is still involved in corporate guilt. The soldiers
who volunteers for ~~combat~~ combat serve, or accepts conscription for this
purpose, is ~~guilty~~ voluntarily and directly involved in the destructive
activities of war; but the farmer who raises potatoes which are sold to
the army commissary is also part of the war effort.

Many years ago a friend put the case this way, "If another great war comes, I will declare a moratorium on my Christianity, and put my religion aside for its duration; ^{when ~~the war is over~~} ~~then~~ I will take ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{gospel} out of the ^{pigeonhole} ~~the pigeonhole~~ and proclaim it." This was his way of saying that war and Jesus' way are irreconcilable, ^{while} ~~and of~~ ^{our Lord} expressing his conviction that in wartime the teaching of ~~Jesus~~ ^{that war is repudiation of the way of our Lord,} is impracticable. I agree ^d with his judgment, ^{and} differ ^{ed} with his conclusion ^{that,} ^{consent to} ~~nevertheless~~ we must ~~accept~~ ^{consent to} it, under certain conditions.

It is true, of course, that one cannot escape entanglement in if he does any useful work while war ~~when~~ it is being waged. In many ways he contributes to the war effort, ^{including} ~~including~~ ^{excise taxes and other Federal taxes}. This truth may be emphasized by reference to another area of social life. In a state where capital punishment is practiced, every citizen of that democracy is implicated in this ~~one~~ institution. He may be involved voluntarily and directly by ~~volunteering~~ ^{seek to have it abolished,} advocating it, and by becoming a public executioner; or he may condemn it, ^{and} refuse to take the life of a criminal. Citizenship imposes corporate guilt, but there are differing types and degrees of responsibility. ^{conscientious ly} The young man who volunteers for combat service, or ~~willingly~~ ^{conscientiously} accepts conscription for this purpose, is implicated in a different way from the ^{youth} ~~young man~~ who adheres to his conviction that ~~fixing~~ military ^{for him,} service would be a repudiation of his religion, ~~and therefore~~ ^{may be} refuses ~~to~~ to take part in the destructive activities of war, and accepts alternative farm service as a grower of potatoes, ^{which} ~~are~~ ^{may be} sold to an army commissary. ~~Military service~~

Long have I realized that a conscientious objector cannot avoid entanglement in the corporate guilt of war, and many years ago the truth was forced upon me that a holier-than-thou attitude is unwarranted.

In wartime

25 1913

Every citizen ~~in wartime~~ is ~~entangled~~ and Every person must ^{should} decide for himself where to draw the line, and ~~must~~ be considerate of ~~the~~ decisions reached by others. Moral problems in wartime are painfully complex. In endeavoring to reach right decisions, I have constantly inquired, What is the will of God for me in this situation? What would the living Christ have me do here and now? And ~~and~~ ^{the conviction} ~~has deepened~~ ^{has deepened} ~~has led to the conviction~~ that war is atrocity, and ~~for me~~ ^{^ approve of} to consent in it as an armed combatant ~~it or engage directly in its destructive activities~~ would be sin ^{for me.}

Many friends who are ~~recognized~~ sincere Christians have felt the leading of God as they entered the armed service. I have no right to ^{dogmatically} say, "They are wrong, God could not want them to kill their enemies." But for myself, I have felt clear guidance in condemning war as atrocity and sin, ~~and~~ in refusing to become an armed belligerent, and in withholding approval when my country takes up arms.

however,

Moral responsibility compels me to express ~~the~~ my conviction that they are mistaken in judgment, and to say that, in my opinion, Christians should not go to war ^{just} - as I feel impelled to say that, ^{my ministerial} it seems to me, ~~that~~ ^{did not act the way a Christian} grandfather ~~was wrong in~~ buying and selling ^{should} human beings as chattel slaves. ^{when he bought and sold}

My position was reached, not by logic of philosophical absolutism, but ^{by} ~~by~~ such understanding as I had of the will of God for my life, as revealed in Christ - ~~and understanding~~ That is to say, my pacifism flows from the deep wells of my religion.

26

7

Meek

Week after week and month after month, I ^{have} stressed the risk^s involved in taking seriously the way of Jesus. In long chapters, in various articles, and from ^{many pulpits,} ~~the platform,~~ ^{have} I summarized the dangers inherent in communist ideology and from Soviet aggression. Any ^{foreign} policy we Americans adopt is dangerous. All that we can do is to choose one risk rather another one. No safe way is open to us. This I repeated over and over: ^{have}

We are obliged to take a calculated risk

The way of disarmament and of mutual aid and of international cooperation is a highly dangerous way. It is not safe. But it is safer, safer than the race of armaments and the third world war... By every test it is better to run the risks of doing right than to run the risks of doing wrong. ~~all depend upon mutual aid is right.~~

The aggressiveness and ruthlessness of Soviet foreign policy makes it easy for Americans to put their trust in armed might. Russia is ruled by a dictatorship of the Communist party. Its leaders have long been schooled in violence and class war. Deceit and treachery are acknowledged weapons of combat. The Russian government works through Communist parties in other lands, and wherever possible destroys existing governments and establishes Communist dictatorships. The steady expansion of the Kremlin's power over neighboring states is causing extreme apprehension throughout the earth.

way of the cross
Nesojism of
soldiers
wise
Faith of O. T.
Gunderson
Dandini
pulpits

The worldwide system of armaments and military alliances is not providing us with security and justice. Four or five times ^{years} within recent ~~years~~, humanity has been brought to the brink of another world war, that is, to the verge of indescribable ^{awful} destruction and slaughter, followed by an ^{awful} aftermath of desolation and disease and misery. Month by month we are now running this risk. There is no rational reason, therefore, ^a for dismissing ~~the Christian~~ Jesus' way of life in international affairs because it is highly perilous. To his disciples, he made it clear that fidelity to him requires ^{utmost} courage. ~~at almost degree~~ This heroism is latent within us all. Soldiers have courage, as do their parents and wives. When nationalism calls, patriots respond with sacrificial devotion. Fascists and Nazis and Communists have courage, and live ^{under} ~~under~~ marching orders. ^h Mahatma Gandhi's followers had courage - Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Christians - and were beaten with cruel blows and imprisoned in many jails. ^{as have} Jews have courage, ^{Some} and suffered heroically in behalf of their fellows. ^h Conscientious objectors ~~under~~ totalitarianism endured to death, and in this country, were subjected to contempt and derision, loss of position, and imprisonment. For forty years I have realized that disciples of our Lord are called upon to follow him wherever he ~~leads~~ leads at whatever cost. ^{Since} ~~Because~~ his cause is higher than fidelity to country, ~~by every~~ ^{that} it is more sensible to run risks in following the will of God as it is revealed in our Lord ^{it} than to accept the consequences of trusting in massive retaliation. We ~~will~~ do well to discipline our emotions by reading often the challenges of Jesus to his disciples, and by ^{sing} ~~sing~~ fervently hymns of faith and devotion.

28

Faith of our fathers! living still
In spite of dungeon, fire, and sword,
O how our hearts beat high with joy/
Whene'er we hear that glorious word!
Faith of our fathers, holy faith!
We will be true to thee till death.

Faith of our fathers! we will love
Both friend and foe in all our strife,
And preach thee, too, as love knows how
By kindly words and virtuous life:
Faith of our fathers, holy faith!
We will be true to thee till death.

Our fathers, chained in prisons dark,
Were still in heart and conscience free:
How sweet would be their children's fate,
If they, like them, could die for Thee!

One of our most moving ~~hymns~~ hymns expresses the emotion
which should possess us as we confront the perils of this age:

When I survey the wondrous cross
On which the Prince of Glory died,
My richest gain I count but loss,
And pour contempt on all my pride.

See, from his head, His hands, His feet,
Sorrow and love flow mingled down;
Did e'er such love and sorrow meet,
Or thorns compose so rich a crown?

Were the whole realm of nature mind,
That were an offering far too small;
Love so amazing, so divine,
Demands my soul, my life, my all.

← Only the Eternal Mind knows what victories ^{could} ~~would~~ be won by the
Prince of Peace if his disciples would follow him with the ~~same~~ faith
and fidelity ^{shown by} ~~expressed by~~ patriots in hours of national peril, and would
put their trust in Jesus way of life.

X

Since the conclusion of World War II, the emphasis of my message on international affairs has been on the necessity of a ^{huge} ~~gigantic~~ program of mutual aid; strengthening the peace functions of the United Nations; and an international agreement to reduce armaments by rapid stages, until the nations are disarmed. I have long been an advocate of ^m ~~disarmament~~ - unilateral or multilateral. My judgment has been that disarmament can be achieved only by international agreement. For many years I have supported the proposal that the American people ought to spend billions in helping other nations to solve their urgent problems. This is substantially the program which, in my judgment, offered most promise of preventing World War II. In 1948 I wrote:

24

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Concern is the way of reconciliation. America's concern for the safety of the Russian people and for their prosperity offers the way to moderate the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.. If we would take seriously the task of helping them to help themselves to security and economic wellbeing, there is a possibility that the Soviet leaders would be less aggressive and belligerent. I did not say there is a guarantee, merely a possibility. ~~as the case of the Soviet Union~~

My personal conviction I have long advocated
of disarmament, unilateral or multilateral. My
judgment has been that disarmament can
actually be achieved by international
agreement.

28 B 24

In the momentous years between the world wars, statesmen of nations
that called themselves Christian rarely paid even lip service to
the way of the Prince of Peace, as the highway to international
justice, goodwill and peace. The practical men, ~~with their program~~
~~dismissed~~ ^{him} Jesus as utopian and perfectionist, ~~and~~
and, with their good intentions, led the nations straight into the hell of universal war.

at all
about
Jesus,

Since the conclusion of World War II, the emphasis of my
message on international affairs has been on the necessity of a
gigantic program of mutual aid; strengthening the
peace functions of the United Nations; and an international agree-
ment to reduce armaments by rapid stages until the nations are
disarmed. ^{For many years} ~~Countless times~~ ^{from pulpit and platform, I have suggested}
that the American people ought to spend ^{at least as} ~~as much money~~ helping other
nations solve their urgent problems, as they are spending upon
military preparedness. In 1948 I wrote:

Consider what might happen if the United States would provide
the United Nations with fifteen billion dollars a year for a
decade as our share of the cost of world reconstruction...
Other nations would help according to their ability and this
vast enterprise should be administered by the United Nations...
This money should be spent in Great Britain and in Soviet
Russia, in France and in Poland, in Greece and in Turkey,
in Korea and in China, and other distressed lands. Instead
of waging war with pestilence, vast sums should be spent on
health measures and the eradication of plague from the face of
the earth... The one hundred and fifty billions in ten years
from the United States added to the efforts of other peoples
would transform living standards beyond recognition.

Many times ~~when~~ I pointed out that it is not enough for us
to help our Allies, while Soviet Russia ^{strengthens} her satellites.
Common action through the United Nations, for relief and reconstruction
in distressed lands on ^{all} ~~both~~ sides of the military alliances, is required
if reconciliation is to be achieved. A decade ago I ~~expressed this~~
wrote:

24 A

I realized, of course, that it was not politically "practicable" for the President, in wartime, to make such an address. But I understand responsibility that the ~~responsibility~~ of a Christian clergyman is not confined to ~~expressing~~ ^{summarizing} what he thinks is the maximum program that a government will adopt ^{at a given moment}. He is a prophet of the living God, a servant of the living Christ, and is obligated to proclaim the will of God, as he understands it, and to reflect the mind of Christ, as ~~known~~ accurately as he knows it.

this chapter is ^{fires in the churches are}
As ~~the churches are~~ being written, prophetic ~~are~~ ^{the} burning low. ^{the}
~~the churches~~ Few, in proportion, are the ministers who, in ringing tones of Amos and Jeremiah, are calling their people to repentance for acquiescing in the race of nuclear weapons for massive retaliation. Almost inaudible is the protest ^{against the} ^{of} drafting young men ~~in the late 1940s~~ for possible participation in war, which so many times and so accurately has been

^{Recognized}
~~denounced~~ as the ~~most~~ most colossal social sin. Like a morning frost before the rising sun, the zeal of most Christians against war has melted away.

^{existing}
A present day writer cannot truthfully say about the peace movement what F. Ernest Johnson, Director of the Research Department of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, wrote about an earlier period:

^{aggressive} Now Is the Time p 159
^{the threat of Communist totalitarianism is so ominous;}
~~but~~ Since World War II, fear of Soviet Russia has become so acute; the ^{is so widespread} assumption that peace proposals are Communist propaganda; ~~for the purpose~~ is so confused of discerning the United States is widespread; thinking about other means of national defense than military weapons; ~~the military~~ the military mind has become so pervasive in the press, on the radio, through the television, the platform and the pulpit - that rare is the minister who calls his people ^{to} repentance for the sin of war ^{preparation for} and of massive retaliation against God's people ~~across~~ across oceans and frontiers. Long overdue is repentance for the sin of war, and fresh commitment to the way of the Prince of Peace.

x1

kindled by Professor Herriott, and by

My interest in economic problems was ~~stimulated~~ ^{kindled} by Professor Stringfellow when he introduced us to the writings of Walter Rausenbusch and Washington Gladden. I left the Ridgewood Church in 1921, and after returning from the first European Seminar, ~~then~~ ^{then} worked on a pamphlet which ~~was~~ ^{a pamphlet} published under the title, Industrial Facts. This was a simple presentation of information about poverty, wages, hours of labor, unemployment, and the concentration of wealth; together with brief interpretations of trade unions, the cooperative movement, the British Labor Party, socialism and syndicalism. At the end of that year, I brought out a pamphlet, ~~and~~ ^{and} Collective Bargaining, in which I discussed the right of workers to organize in ~~their~~ ^{choosing,} unions of their own and bargain collectively with the corporations which employed them. I took a strong stand for unionism, and against the "open shop" crusade, a powerful ~~movement~~ ^{movement}, which was in reality an anti-union ~~movement~~ ^{movement} effort to crush unions, except company unions dominated by employers.

The Atlantic Monthly, in May, 1922, published my study of the policies of the United States Steel Corporation. A ~~first~~ draft of this manuscript was sent to Judge Gary, ^{Chairman of the Corporation,} with the request ^{that} errors ^{and} misrepresentations be pointed out. He was kind enough to grant a long interview, and, with President Farrell and two other officials, ~~discussed~~ ^{discussed} my manuscript ^{at length.} They ~~maintained~~ ^{maintained} a different point of view, but the facts presented concerning the twelve-hour day, the seven-day week, the twenty-four shift every two weeks, thirty cents per hour for unskilled workers, anti-union policy, watering of corporation stock, substantially high profits, were not contested. Judge Gary assured me that the twelve-hour day was a necessity in the steel industry, and that thirty cents an hour was all that the Corporation could afford to pay unskilled workers. The Atlantic article ^{created} ~~produced~~ wide discussion throughout the nation, and there is reason to believe that it had something to do

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under the title, Christianity and Economic Problems, with the following chapters: A Divided World, Poverty - Misfortune or Blessing? Is Poverty a Serious Problem? Do Great Fortunes Help or Hinder Social Progress? Are Luxuries Antagonistic to Public Welfare? Does Modern Industry Help or Hinder the Full Development of Human Beings? Why is There Not Enough to Go Around? How Can Industry Be Made to Produce More Goods and Better People? What Changes in Control Would Most Benefit Industry? What Degrees of Public Control of Industry Will Best Promote the General Welfare? How Rapidly Can a Christian Economic Order Be Achieved?

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On May 20, 1922, Ellery Sedgwick, editor of The Atlantic Monthly, wrote to me: ↑

"How interesting must have been the conversation at the White House at last night's dinner. I think we may congratulate ourselves in feeling that the present Atlantic discussion has helped to focus the government's interest upon the important question of the twelve-hour day."

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All 9 for \$3.00

This study book was widely used in churches and on campuses. It was reprinted in thirteen issues of the Southern Churchman, in the days when W. Russell Bowie was its editor.

30
(R)
that it was changing to three shifts of eight hours. One of the letters
which pleased me most was from Bishop McConnell ~~and~~ ^{and} ended with this
sentence: "But how you pulled off that stunt in that magazine is beyond me."

national of the primary means of production and distribution - ~~public utilities~~
~~public~~ resources,
 banks, massive industries, telephone, telegraph, railways. My concern has
 long been to use government as an instrument in the hands of the people
 for their equitable wellbeing, instead of using governmental power to
 widen the gulf between the rich and the poor, between the powerful and the
 weak.

About 1930 Alma and I joined the Socialist Party, and we remained
 some
 members ~~for some~~ for ~~some~~ twenty-five years. Socialism is a
 word of many meanings. *Personally,* I am not heavily indebted to Karl Marx, and have
 never considered myself his follower. My socialism is derived from my
 religion, from my belief in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of
 man, and especially from my understanding of the requirement^s of Jesus'
 way of life. It is accurate therefore to say that I am a socialist
 Christian. I prefer that to Christian Socialist, because it places
 emphasis in the proper place. In the American scene, there is no better
 way to describe my socialism briefly than to say it is much like that of
 Norman Thomas. A major difference is that he is no longer ~~pacifist~~
 pacifist Socialist. I have never been tempted to become a Communist,
 have never flirted with it, and have ^{continuous} ~~steadily~~ opposed united front
 movements with ^{(M) Six times} Communists. I voted for Norman Thomas, ~~as~~ as Socialist
 candidate for President of the United States, ~~but~~ ^{P.P. Christensen,} Twice I ~~had~~
 voted for Woodrow Wilson, once for ~~Christiansen~~ ^{P.P. Christensen,} Farmer-Labor candidate,
 and once for Robert M. LaFollette. ~~Twice~~ I have voted for Adlai Stevenson.

My wife and I agree with the judgment of Norman Thomas that it has
 become futile for the Socialist Party ^{to} run candidates for national office, so we
 resigned from the party, and registered as ~~regular~~ Democrats. Twice
 we have voted for Adlai Stevenson. ^{On 1} ^{(Z) 31 B} *Many of the "radical" proposals*
which we supported thirty years ago
have been ^{extracted into laws} *and are now being expanded*
by the "conservative" Eisenhower Administration.

moved. Many public presentations were summaries of my understanding of what it means to live in zones of controversy as a good member of God's family. My standards of evaluation were the stature of Christ for the individual, and the kingdom of God on earth as the test of social practices. Often I began by saying that every time we pray the Lord's prayer we are asking for drastic changes in the present social order, for surely no one could mistake our existing society for the reign of God on earth.

My views on the economic order moved steadily toward the position of the British labor movement, with its mixed system, its program of nationalizing only the primary means of production and distribution, its political party, its trade unions, its adult education and democratic socialism. I was strongly drawn to this middle position between capitalism and communism, and was never tempted to approve of a competitive society or to flirt with Moscow. Religious convictions, including Christian pacifism, kept me from any inclination to join in united fronts with communists. After the short visit to the Soviet Union in 1926, I never went back, preferring to study more intensively the British labor movement. Indeed, a friend used to reproach me for having such a phobia against communism.

In emphasizing the contrasts between Communists and socialist Christians, I often called attention to these points of difference:

	Leninist-Stalinism and Communist Party	Socialist Christians
Method of social change:	violent seizure of power.	peaceful change
Form of govern- ment:	dictatorship of the proletariat as long as necessary	parliamentary democracy through representatives elected by popular vote
Method of treat- ment of opponents	liquidation; suppres- sion to the extent required	freedom of speech, press, assembly, and organization

Methods of acquiring public ownership of giant instruments of production and distribution:

confiscation without payment

purchase through right of eminent domain and payment of fair price

Attitude toward religions:

hostility and determined effort to upset not only ecclesiastical institutions but also religious ideas

resolute determination to inaugurate Jesus' way of life in all relationships

Self-interest, however enlightened, never appealed to me as being a Christian incentive to economic behavior. Constantly I quoted the words of our Lord that self-centeredness is death, while God-centeredness and people-centeredness bring life. The Christian spirit is that of the family extended to all relationships. Many times I used the change in attitude toward public education as an illustration of the transition required in other areas of life. Formerly a child received as much education as his parents could afford, while the idea now accepted is that a child is entitled to as good education as the community can afford. So it should be with health, recreation, and social security. In economic life the Christian emphasis is upon "we" and "our" instead of "I" and "my." Cooperation is more appropriate in God's home than the competitive struggle for private gain. For this reason I became a supporter of the cooperative movement and an advocate of cooperative efforts on the part of citizens to improve the common welfare.

From the days of thorough exposure to Herbert Spencer under Professor Herriett, I was repelled by the idea that government is evil and we should have as little of it as possible. Government is one instrument among many in the hands of citizens for the advancement of the common good, and we should have as much of it as helps us to achieve the good life. Ex-

Many predictions that I made during depression days were not borne out by subsequent events. I missed the mark widely in such forecasts as these:

Capitalism cannot be reformed sufficiently; it must be replaced with a different economic order...
 Capitalism was doomed by the stock market crash... We are doomed to chaos if we preserve or attempt to preserve the present competitive system... Not until collective ownership makes possible economic planning and equitable distribution will the people of this land enjoy plenty, security, and leisure... Big business will capture the Democratic party... the Republican party will pass out of existence, and a new liberal party will come into being... The present social order is decaying...

On In the awful days of mass employment and appalling misery, and with the rise of Franklin D. Roosevelt,

it was easy for a member of the Socialist Party to view our social order through dismal glasses - *too dismal!*

underestimated
 I grossly ~~underestimated~~ the significance of modern technology, and failed to foresee the degree to which the old ~~political~~ parties would move to the left. It was not possible for me to envisage the extent to which the system of laissez faire would be abandoned, or to preview the speed with which the welfare state would take its place. Only a few hours ago, I noticed a headline which helps to explain my low rating as a political prophet:

er
Eisenhower Embraces More of the New Deal. Modern industry has increased productivity at a prodigious rate, the workers have acquired enormous economic power, and government *Control* ~~increased~~ economic processes has been expanded in numerous ways. The welfare state is now generally accepted, government is ~~now~~ looked upon as an instrument in the hands of the people for their *Common* wellbeing. In important respects, President Eisenhower is more *was* "New Dealish" than ~~any~~ F. D. R. I will take one more fling at prophecy - the Administration of 1960 will still further expand the benefits of the welfare state, and will itself be surpassed in the seventies.

I was seriously mistaken in my estimate of the trend toward public ownership. Indeed, I have changed my judgment about the necessity of public ownership of the chief means of production and distribution.

It now seems to me far more important that joint control be maintained in determining economic policies, and in distributing national income and national wealth.

early thirties

In the ~~early thirties~~, after I had finished an address on Christian Socialism in Riverside Church, Dr. Fosdick exclaimed: "I agree with much of what you have said. You call it ~~new~~ socialism, while I call it capitalism." In this age of swiftly moving change, the word capitalism does not mean what it did when I was born. The economic system of 1890 has, in fact, been replaced by a substantially different social order. So we hear less of capitalism, and more of free enterprise - and strangely enough in an era when industrialists and financiers are less and less able to dominate ~~economic~~ policies, and are teamed-up more and more with organized workers and with voters of the nation. *there is less and less "free" enterprise, when the* The trend unmistakably is toward

a social system which in the twenties and thirties we called socialism.

2 P. S. On the eve of the election in 1952, I predicted dogmatically that Adlai Stevenson would win by an overwhelming margin, and I ~~predicted~~ listed the states he would carry!

Many predictions that I made during the twenties and thirties were not borne out by events. Old material reminds me that frequently I asserted dogmatically that "the present economic order is decaying," "capitalism is doomed," "big business will capture the Democratic party," "we are damned to chaos if we preserve or attempt to preserve the present competitive system," "the Republican Party will have passed out of existence before that time," "capitalism is dead; already it is below the water line," "capitalism was doomed with the stock market crash of 1929."

failed to evaluate accurately

When I [^]~~misread~~ significant signs of the times and prevailing trends, I was in respectable company. At the end of 1932, Calvin Coolidge, in an interview for the New York Sun, confessed:

We are in a new era to which I do not belong, and it would not be possible for me to adjust myself to it... When I read of the new-fangled things that are so popular now I realize that my time in public affairs is past. I wouldn't know how to handle them if I were called upon to do so. That is why I am through with public life forever... These new ideas call for new men to develop them. That task is not for men who believe in the only kind of government I know anything about... These socialistic notions of government are not of my day.

What would this spokesman for an age which has gone, never to return, ^{conservative} ~~may~~ have said in 1956 if he had heard Republican orators pleading for "these socialistic notions of government?"

In forty-five years I have travelled more than a million miles, and have spoken in some two thousand churches of many religious bodies and in all states of the union, and in other lands; have faced college and university chapels and assemblies and convocations on about four hundred campuses.

^{Upon} After leaving the Ridgewood Church, I ~~intended to concentrate on~~ ^{planned to spend much time in} writing. Indeed, I can never forget an early morning walk with Sherwood ^{deserted} on the golf links at Forest Hills. Round and round we ^{went} ~~walked~~ as he ^{into me} pounded his conviction ~~that~~ that I would never make an effective public speaker, and should, therefore, settle down to a career of writing. I was not convinced. By temperament, I am an evangelist, ^{with} ~~have~~ a strong sense of mission, and derive great joy from preaching. Encouragement came, at an early student conference at Hollister, from Pit Van Dusen ^{and Roland Elliott,} who expressed confidence in my ability to learn from experience.

Fortunately, I came upon the public scene at the right time for ~~making~~ an emphasis upon the social gospel. A dozen years before I began my public work, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America had adopted Gladden, the Social Creed of the Churches. The books of Rauschenbusch and Peabody had prepared the minds of many ministers, ^{some} and ~~some~~ laymen, ^{and} for ~~the~~ social action. The Muckrakers had done their work of exposure, ^{and} the Progressive movement had awakened the country to the need for reform. ^{nearly} Gene Debs had polled a million votes as Socialist candidate for President of the United States. ^{Not}

My work with Sherwood Eddy and John R. Mott had brought me into close contact with many ~~religious~~ leaders of religion and education, and ~~my~~ years of study and travel had ~~provided~~ provided me with the content of my social message. I was free ^{with} from routine responsibility, ^{given} adequate financial security, and thus was in a position to accept ^{money} invitations without taking into account ~~these and honors~~.

For these reasons the doors were thrown wide open, and within a few months invitations to speak poured in faster than I could accept them. independent as a social evangelist 1939, My ~~speaking~~ career is divided into two periods, from 1921 to 1940, and from 1940 to the present moment. For nearly twenty years I was constantly on the campus, in the churches, and on the lecture platform, frequently before large and influential audiences. Since 1940 much of my time has been devoted to conferences and spiritual retreats. During the first period, much of my program ~~was arranged~~ on the campus was arranged by the Student Y.M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and the Student Volunteer Movement. Over a span of ~~thirty years~~ eighteen years, the American Friends Service Commitee (Quakers) ^{have} arranged one-day conferences for me in ^{various} sections of the United States.

For many years I made the rounds of regional student conferences at Northfield, Silver Bay, Eaglesmere, Buck Hills Falls, Blairstown, Blue Ridge, King's Mountain, ^{Lake Tuna, Lake, Mount Sequoyah, Lakeside,} Hollister, Lake Geneva, Estes Park, Seabeck, and Asilomar. I had the thrilling experience of addressing huge national gatherings of students at Indianapolis, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Lakeside, ^{Winona Lake,} Memphis, Purdue and Anderson. Many times I have spoken before national conventions of religious bodies, and have often appeared before regional and state conferences, councils and synods. Invitations have come to lead Religious Emphasis Week on the campus, and to deliver Commencement addresses. Great exhilaration has come from speaking in forty theological seminaries. Before World War II, I was often invited to address luncheon clubs, chambers of commerce, and women's clubs - but in recent years such invitations have been few and far between. Many times I have been privileged to speak before state, ~~regional~~ and city gatherings of ministers. It was a source of much satisfaction to visit nine of the ten Relocation Centers for Japanese, and to talk with conscientious objectors in sixteen ~~young men's~~ Civilian Public Service camps. Frequently I have been on the faculty at summer conferences and institutes of international relations. I taught at two summer sessions of Union Theological Seminary and for a semester ^{lect} taught two seminars at Yale University Divinity School.

in 1925

Twelve weeks of my time were devoted to a national campaign by the Council of Christian Association to arouse interest in and discussion of the World Court and other international agencies, ^{with} ~~William~~ Henry P. Van Dusen as National Director. During these twelve weeks, I spoke at many student conferences and on many campuses. Twenty-five thousand copies of my An American Peace Policy were circulated under the imprint of the Council of Christian Associations. I spent time also in helping to raise the campaign budget. Pit Van Dusen and I succeeded in getting ^{one} a gift of ten thousand dollars for this purpose.

For some years I engaged in public debates. This practice was abandoned because of a deepening conviction that this method created more heat than light, and ^{is} ~~was~~ less effective than other forms of public presentation. A memorable Sunday hour was spent in a debate over the radio with Admiral Fiske on the subject of armed preparedness. The Admiral was a poor debater and failed to use all his time. The announcer hurriedly asked if I could use the ^{minutes} ~~extra~~ time. A debate was arranged with General Fries of the Chemical Warfare Service.

I found ~~that~~ that he was paid \$200, while my honorarium was \$50. One of my most exciting debates was with Maurice Samuel on Zionism at the Emil G. Hirsch Center in Chicago before an audience of two thousand, most of whom were not favorable to my point of view. In an old letter is this reference: "Sunday afternoon I debated Fascism with Lawrence Dennis before a Chicago audience that packed a big theater. The debate was a knock-down-and-drag-out affair." In Washington, I debated ~~Pacifism~~ with Colonel Yates, Chief of Chaplains, United States Army.

Henry Cabot Lodge, now our representative at the United Nations, and I debated ~~Disarmament~~ before the Springfield Foreign Policy Association.

An unforgettable experience was a debate with Sherwood Eddy on Christian pacifism, at the University of Mississippi, which began at eight o'clock and concluded in an adjourned session about midnight. Before the Chicago Open Forum, I debated Judge McGoorty on military training in the colleges. He began by reading an excerpt from one of my books. To his surprise the audience broke into applause. After the third selection, the applause was louder. Thereupon the Judge exclaimed, "I never expected to hear treason applauded by an American audience." After addressing me courteously as "my distinguished opponent" and "Dr. Page," his tongue slipped and he spoke of me as "Pirby Kage." No 97

Armed intervention in other lands was the subject of a debate with Harold W. Dodds, who later became President of Princeton University.

In the Brooklyn Academy of Music, I debated a Japanese scholar on Manchuria.
~~and~~ Lynn Harold Hough and I debated Christian ~~pacifism~~ in Riverside Church.

Much effort went into the persuasion of ministers to make a break with the war system and the endeavor to get the churches to declare it to be a sin. One of the distressing experiences of my life was at a meeting of the Federal Council of Churches in Dayton, where at the conclusion of my address on the theme "If war is sin," a bishop and a friend indignantly walked out of the meeting. A touch of humor was afforded by inability to find their hats and their obvious discomfiture as they stormed about the rear of the church.

From my first days at Drake, for forty years I lived a strenuous life. From letters to the folks at home, and from old carbon~~d~~ copies of letters to friends, I am reminded of vigorous activities. It gives me a thrill just to read again the record.

Seven hours in a row yesterday! On my feet most of that time. Spoke
 ↑ to the girls at Radcliffe, then went immediately to a theological semin-
 ↑ ary conference at Harvard Theological Seminary, where representatives had gathered from five seminaries... From October 4th to December 18th, I spoke on 68 out of 75 days, in 19 states - Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana... In nine months I have visited colleges in seventeen states in four sections of the country. From March to December, I travelled 40,000 miles in this country...

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Yesterday I spoke four times in Baltimore - in the morning to 400 Negro students at Morgan College, then twice at Johns Hopkins University, and at an evening mass meeting in the city. The week before was crowded with engagements, beginning with three days at Hollins College, which is one of the best women's colleges in the South. I had practically the entire student body for six consecutive addresses. Then I had a busy day at Greensboro, speaking at North Carolina College for Women and two other meetings in the city, with a chapel at Guilford College. Next day I had 1,800 students out for a chapel at Duke University, and I spoke twice at the University of North Carolina. On Saturday I spoke six times at North Carolina State College and to the ministers of the city. I had luncheon with Josephus Daniels... went to the airport and flew to Philadelphia, where I preached at a ~~church~~ in the evening...

← Yesterday I spoke at a Union Thanksgiving service in Carnegie Hall, with 2,000 present. ~~Last week I talked to 1,000 on the lecture course at Dr. Fosdick's church.~~ Last Sunday evening I spoke at the Community Church here. Next Sunday morning I am preaching in Symphony Hall in Boston. One wishes he had many lives to live during these critical days...

I began a month ago at Bucknell College, and then went in rapid succession to Cleveland, Oberlin, Painesville, Troy (for the State Synod of the Presbyterians) Skidmore, State Teachers College at Albany, a weekend student conference at East Lansing, Michigan, Montreal, Detroit, University of Michigan, back to Cleveland, Buffalo, a weekend student conference at Kingston (students from the state of New York), St. Lawrence College, University of Pittsburg, State University of Ohio... The meeting in Rochester at noon on Armistice Day was great. It was a ~~state-wide affair~~ city-wide affair, under the auspices of some forty organizations. There were 1,100 packed into the Chamber of Commerce banquet hall, standing in every inch of space and almost hanging from the chandeliers, while others were turned away because there wasn't an inch of room left. Believe it or not! ...

Most wonderful response at University of Chicago chapel. Largest crowd of the season, had to bring in extra chairs. Also splendid time at the Chicago Forum. Spent two hours in the evening with 50 picked students in the Gilkey home...

I had an exceedingly profitable summer. I had one address at Silver Bay, two at Hollister, three at Blue Ridge, and four at Estes Park. This gave me a chance to touch students in an area covering three-quarters of the United States. I had a wonderful time at the National Student Council at Lake Forest...

on Sunday
I preached
in Raleigh,
then

in N.Y.

to 1,300
students.

41

Have spoken 37 times in 10 days, in addition to group meetings and interviews... convocation of 1,200 students at Kansas University, then a retreat with the YM and Yw cabinets of Kansas State Agricultural College... at Salina all the Protestant church^{es} joined in a union service, with 2,000 out...

I have spoken twenty-six times in seven days in Portland, Spokane, Seattle, Tacoma, Corvallis and Eugene. In Portland I addressed 100 ministers, and spoke at two public meetings. In Spokane I addressed a convocation of the University of Spokane, and made two public addresses. On Sunday I had a grand time. In the morning we drove forty miles to Tacoma, where I preached in the First Christian Church. Driving back to Seattle I preached three times in rapid succession: first, at the University Temple to a packed house of fifteen hundred people; second, at the First Christian Church; third, at the Plymouth Congregational Church; thus reaching about 2,500 peoples within four hours - using the themes "Is the Religion of Jesus Practicable?" and "The Meaning of the Cross." ...

I had a really marvellous time at Raleigh, with five addresses before 200 Southern Baptist preachers gathered from all over the state. It was the most conservative group I have ever talked ~~to~~ to. I began with an address on The Cross, then The Causes of War, the Christian and War, Conscientious Wickedness, and the New Evangelism. Dr. Cullom says he heard no adverse comments... At student conferences at Lake Geneva and at Lakeside, a sense of awe came over me as I spoke ~~from~~ from the platform with Toyohiko Kagawa... At the Highland Park Methodist Church in Dallas, one of the largest churches in America, I preached at the Sunday morning service on "The Significance of Jesus in an Industrial Civilization." ... On Sunday I was back for my second appearance in the pulpit of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, with a membership of ten thousand.

41 A

I have had many pleasant experiences in speaking ^{at} ~~in~~ Jewish temples, reformed synagogues, and open forums. I found that often the Jewish forum was the only one in a community that dealt fearlessly with controversial issues. A notable community thanksgiving service was held at Temple Israel in New York, with twelve temples, synagogues and churches cooperating. Rabbi Wise, Bishop McConnell, and I discussed the theme: "Saving Democracy - From the Class Struggle, War, Race Hatred." On another Thanksgiving day, Reinhold Niebuhr, John Haynes Holmes and I spoke on "The World Crisis," ~~after~~ before a packed house in Carnegie Hall, at a service sponsored by twelve Jewish and Christian groups.

One of my pleasant experiences has been

41 A #

During the years I have spoken over the radio many times.
One pleasant experience ^{was} to receive letters from mother ~~and~~ in
Texas and from Alma in California, ^{saying} that my voice from Philadelphia
had been heard distinctly. I ^{gave} ~~did~~ a national series of radio
talks for the ~~United~~ Boys' Department of the National Council of
the Y. M. C. A. It was my honor to speak with Mrs. Roosevelt
and George Lansbury on a national broadcast. For a period of
eight months, I spoke over ~~the~~ a Los Angeles station eight times
under the sponsorship of J. Frank Burke;
weekly, [^] six devotional talks, with John Raitt recording hymns
for this program; and two ^{weekly} periods of interpretation of world events.
Only once have I appeared on a television program.

41 BB

At the end of 1935, Ray Newton, of the "American Friends
Service Committee, called a group ^{together} ~~volunteers~~ to consider launching
a united campaign to keep America ^{out} ~~put~~ of war. From this came The ^{National Executive} ~~Emergency~~ Peace Campaign, ^{with Ray Newton as Director.} ~~During the next two years,~~ Since The World
Tomorrow was no longer being published, I was able to devote most
of my time for two years to this movement. I served as chairman
of the speakers' bureau, helped to raise money for the campaign,
and spoke widely over the country.

The campaign was launched by a ~~national~~ ^{over a national network,} broadcast, with Mrs.
Roosevelt, Admiral Byrd and Dr. Fosdick as speakers. As a result
of ^{my} ~~a~~ visit to England early in 1936, George Lansbury, Arthur Salter,
and Maude Royden came to the United States as featured speakers.

It was my joy to accompany George Lansbury, and speak with him in
twenty cities. ^{were published:} ~~These figures are taken from a published summary~~

(At the end of the campaign, ^{this summary was published:}

643 prominent men and women volunteered their services as
speakers, giving from one day to six weeks without remuneration...
cards were returned from 2,754 ministers who agreed to
speak at least five times in meetings which they themselves
arranged... meetings were arranged by campaign workers and
committees in 2,000 towns and cities, and on 500 college
campuses... Every news reel company except one ran pictures at
the time the campaign was begun. Nine broadcasts were
arranged over national networks, one over an international
hook-up, and innumerable broadcasts over local station...
News items and special articles were printed widely in
newspapers and periodicals; clippings received in the
national office total more than three miles in length. ~~At least 500 college campuses participated in the campaign.~~

At the conclusion of the tour by Maude Royden, an all-day conference
was held in Riverside Church, where I spoke with Miss Royden,
Rabbi Israel, Dr. Sockman, Charles P. Taft, and Dr. Fosdick.
The heart and soul of the Campaign was Ray Newton. He initiated
it, directed it, and raised most of the money to finance it.
With magnificent leadership and complete devotion, he gave himself
to this effort to keep the United States out of war.

My formal teaching experience has been limited. I taught a course on "Problems of the Modern World," at a summer session of Union Theological Seminary. At another summer session there, my course was on "Ethical Issues in Modern Society." One term I taught at Yale University Divinity School, seminars on "Modern Social Systems," and "Christianity and Social Action." On another occasion I gave two Trumbull lectures there. Several times opportunities have come to settle down in a teaching position. An offer came to occupy the chair of Applied Christianity at Drake. My old friend, President Cecil F. Cheverton suggested that I joined the faculty of California School of Christianity, later Chapman College. An attractive post was opened to me as professor of Social Science at Peking University. ^d ~~we~~ [^] were invited to teach Christian Ethics[!] in the theological seminary at Montevideo in Uruguay. Several times I received calls from the Young Men's Christian Association in China. I was urged to become a member of the national staff of the student department of the Young Men's Christian Association. Thirty-three years ago, I was invited to become minister of the East Orange Christian Church, at a salary of six thousand dollars, a princely stipend in those days. The position of New York State Secretary of the Socialist Party was offered to me, and once I declined a nomination as Socialist candidate for the United States Senate from California. A call came to be secretary of the Religion and Labor Foundation, and I was approached [^] ~~about~~ [^] becoming national secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Through the years my conviction has remained steadfast that I should continue an independent career as social evangelist and writer.

As this chapter is being written, I have thumbed through
thousands of old letters and carbons, and have drawn on my
memory, and selected these colorful experiences.

It has been my privilege to know two of the greatest of American women. At Hull House in Chicago I talked with Jane Addams, spoke from the same platform with her, and exchanged letters with her, ~~once on~~ ~~extended periods~~. I have read much of what she wrote, and have felt the spell of her spirit and achievements. At Hull House she had gathered about her a notable group of women, who went about doing good in the vast community of underprivileged immigrants. Pioneer in the promotion of protective legislation for women and children, Miss Adams came to be regarded as "radical" and incurred ~~the~~ hostility to such a degree that men of privilege and power said that she ought to ~~be~~ "be hanged to the nearest lamp-post." While editor of The World Tomorrow, I carried on correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt, and later was invited with a small group to the White House, where we plied her with questions. I remember that she walked across the circle in which we were standing to pay special attention to a young Negro woman. This act was typical of her concern for the handicapped, the dispossessed, the segregated. Mrs. Roosevelt is now revered by millions, and I share the conviction that she is one of the great humanitarians of American history.

For a month I traveled with a saint in politics. George Lansbury had resigned as chairman of the Labor Party in the House of Commons because, as a Christian pacifist, he could not go ~~along~~ ^{being traveling} the way his party was ~~traveling~~ ^{went}. In 1936 I ~~had gone~~ ^{went} to England in behalf of the Emergency Peace Campaign, which had been inaugurated by ~~the Quakers, under the leadership of Ray Newton.~~ My purpose was to seek a substantial ^{financial} contribution from an American resident of England who had on previous occasions been generous in support of projects which I had presented to her, and to invite George Lansbury and Maude Royden to come to the United States for extended speaking tours. Both of them accepted. Thus it came about that I was thrown into intimate daily contact with George Lansbury, as we spoke from the same platform in a score of cities. His addresses were really sermons, pleas in the name of Christ to abandon war, preparations for war, and reliance upon military power. He recognized that imperialism and militarism were twin causes of international conflict, and felt sure that they could not be abolished by counter imperialism and militarism. For half a century ~~long~~ ^{since} he ~~had~~ ^{me} labored for international peace and social justice. The spiritual impact he made upon ^{me} during those days of intimacy was very powerful.

I learned much from my contacts with Rufus Jones. In his advanced age he had become the most beloved and revered of Quakers, and illustrated in almost perfect balance mystical religion and social passion. Many years of his life were devoted to a study of the mystics, and he produced numerous books in this field. From a home bathed in religion, he grew and found a second home in the invisible world of the spirit. into one of the saintliest men of our age. It was a benediction to sit with him in silent meeting. The keenness of his mind and the habit of sustained study enabled him to become a great philosopher and an unexcelled teacher. He exemplified in his own attitudes and actions the best tradition of Quaker concern for the unfortunate and the exploited. He was the chief founder of the American Friends Service Committee, and remained its chairman for many years. Beyond all human calculation is the power wielded by his books and articles upon readers in many lands. I can bear personal testimony because his writings have helped substantially to mold my thought and action. Rufus Jones continues to remind us that there is much of God in every man.

Once I talked briefly with President Hoover. A small delegation of us went to Washington to confer with the President about a child feeding program. Five of us were received by Franklin D. Roosevelt. In a day of supposed neutrality, the President spoke so freely in the language of unrestrained denunciation of Mussolini and Hitler that we were shocked by his frankness of speech to ordinary citizens. It was plain that ~~his mind~~ ^{his mind} ~~was made up that it would be necessary~~ ^{was made up that it would be necessary} to take the United States into the war against the dictatorships.

For many years Norman Thomas was my intimate friend. He had founded The World Tomorrow, and during my tenure served as Contributing Editor and member of our managing board. I first met him shortly after I had reached the pacifist Christian position when he was one of the leaders of The Fellowship of Reconciliation. He had great responsibility for my becoming a socialist Christian, and with enthusiasm I voted him all six times that he was a candidate for President of the United States. ^{for} ~~when~~ ^{In 1928} first he ran, I wrote in his support:

I expect, therefore, to vote for Norman Thomas because of the clearness of his vision, the soundness of his judgment, the evenness of his temper, the courage which he displays, the utter unselfishness of his life, the cause for which he stands, and the methods which he advocates. Twenty years from now he will be as highly honored in this country as Keir Hardie and the other founders of the British Labor Party are revered in England today.

Long ago the soundness of this prophecy was recognized by the American people. In the days when Sherwood Eddy, Norman Thomas, Paul H. Douglas and I were active in promoting the newly formed League for Independent Political Action, I was thrown into intimate contact with John Dewey, who became our national chairman. He was a heavy and dull lecturer, but through the years he ^{had} become America's most influential educator.

Now let me call to mind
some colorful experiences:

As this chapter is being written, I have ~~thumbed through~~
and have drawn on my memory
thousands of old letters and carbons, and have selected these *colorful*
~~memorable~~ experiences.

at perilous pace

The night when a friend drove me forty miles to the main line
at Rocky Mount, North Carolina, only to discover that my train to
Washington was several hours late; and the afternoon when Andrew
W. Cordier, now assistant to the Secretary General of the United
Nations, drove me to my train so rapidly that I remonstrated,
"I prefer to get there, even though we arrive late."

Speaking to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union in their
Rochester hall.

When walking along the street on my way to a meeting in Columbus,
and overhearing this exchange: "Do you know that guy Page?" "Yeh, and
I think he's a little crack brained!" - and the speed with which I
hurried on.

An address before the Rotary Club in Hollywood, on What Shall
We Do About Russia?

Preaching twice for Dr. Fesdick in the Park Avenue Baptist
Church, and appearing ~~twice~~ on his lecture series at Riverside
Church *on two occasions*.

A good hearing at the Young Men's Hebrew Association in Boston.

The Sunday afternoon about 1922 when tea was served at Henry
Sloan Coffin's Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, prior
to a late afternoon service, when a woman to whom I had just been intro-
duced, exclaimed, "Oh, your father is speaking to us later."

That evening in Springfield, Massachusetts, when I spoke at
a formal dinner, arranged by James Gordon Gilkey, and noticed that
I was the only one there without evening dress.

④

(51) The Sunday afternoon about 1922 when tea was served at Henry Sloane Coffin's Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York, prior to a late afternoon meeting, when a woman to whom I had just been introduced, exclaimed, "Oh, your father is speaking to us later."

(45) The time when I got off the train at a suburban station in New Jersey, expecting that someone would meet me, and after only a single individual remained on the platform, I was approached, "Did you see anything of a speaker from New York."

(22) That evening in Springfield, Massachusetts, when I spoke at a formal dinner, ~~and suddenly realized~~ that I was the only one there without evening dress. ~~and~~ noticed arranged by James Gordon Gilkey,

(25) The time I spoke at the ~~Union~~ Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia, and was entertained at the Union League Club, which must have been one of a few times that exclusive body ever harbored a Christian socialist. And the other occasion when Sherwood Eddy and I spoke at the Union League Club in Cleveland.

(47) The interview granted to a group of us by President Roosevelt; the time ^{when} Sam Cavert, of the Federal Council of Church, and I talked with President Hoover about German relief; and; the train ride from Boston when I sat just outside the compartment of President Coolidge; and the when, from our office window, we saw President Wilson ~~drive~~ ^{former} drive by.

* ^{day}
(49) That morning, when upon arrival at the office of The World Tomorrow, I found Charles A. Beard waiting at the door, with an apology for having forgotten that I was coming to his home on the previous afternoon, and his inquiry, "What can I do for you?" So I signed him for an article. on the spot

(58) The evening in the homes of James T. Shotwell when assembled guests, including former Associate Justice Clark, ~~Robinson Robinson~~ Ramond Robins, S. O. Levinson, John Haynes Holmes, talked about ways of uniting peace forces ~~in~~ in a movement to persuade ~~the~~ government to join the World Court.

(62) * The evening in Emporia when I was introduced by William Allen White, dressed ~~in a blue shirt and wrinkled suit~~ in blue shirt and wrinkled ~~massive~~ suit.

(massive chuckle from deep down)
That ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~of~~ former President William Howard Taft's in response to one of Sherwood's jokes.

(26) The college president who told me frankly that he thought it was disgraceful for a public speaker to sell his own books at meetings.

BB
(27) Being driven from Boulder to Denver by James Grafton Rogers, who later went to the State Department; and being entertained in the home of Ben and Edith Cherrington, before he also went to Washington.

(23) Being introduced at a convocation of the University of Colorado by Whizzer White, all-American football star.

(24) At the Asilomar student conference, walking the beach at midnight; at Estes Park at daylight by a mountain stream; watching the moonlight on Lake Geneva; alone under the spruce at Seabeck.

(48) The day when Orville and Lucy Mendenhall drove for an hour trying to find our home, gave up in despair and returned to their home.

The college president who told me frankly that he thought it was disgraceful for a public speaker to sell his own books at meetings.

At the Asilomar student conference, walking the beach at midnight; at Estes Park at daylight by a mountain stream; watching the moonlight on Lake Geneva; alone under the spruce at Seabeck.

Being introduced by James W. Fifield, as I spoke on Christian Socialism, at the Sunday evening forum in the First Congregational Church, Los Angeles; and leading three courses on Living Prayerfully, at different times in that church.

The young woman in a forum at Phoenix who complained, "The speaker has been too superficial; why doesn't he give us more solid food."

The morning in Champaign in the home of James C. Baker, later Bishop in Korea and in California, when Dad Elliott and I were guests, and the ~~waffles~~ waffles got stuck in the iron - and, after a long delay, we ate ham and eggs.

Talking on Christian pacifism before the Union minister's meeting in Chicago, and being heckled.

Speaking in Washington with Jane Addams at the National Conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The time when I got off the train at a suburban station in New Jersey, expecting that someone would meet me, and after only ^{one other} ~~person~~ remained on the platform, I was approached, "Did you see anything of a speaker from New York?"

Being introduced at a convocation of the University of Colorado by Whizzer White, all-American football star.

That night in an awful snowstorm in New England when it took me so long to get to the place of meeting that the handful who had braved the night had gone home.

Being introduced by Lloyd Douglas at his churches in Los Angeles, Akron and Montreal.

The Diamond Jubilee Convention of the Missouri Church and

45

7 > Sunday School Council, talking about Living Creative in the Modern World.

That evening after a meeting when Mary took me by the lapel and exclaimed, "Dad, what you mean, we young people?"

A never to be forgotten question period, following my address at the Hungry Club in Pittsburg.

The time I spoke at the Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia, and was entertained at the Union League Club, which must have been one of the few times that exclusive body ever harbored a socialist Christian. And the occasion when Sherwood and I spoke at the Union League Club in Cleveland.

Being introduced by Norman Vincent Peale, at his Sunday evening forum in Syracuse, when I spoke on a Christian economic order.

⑧ That ride with Bill McKinney to his home in Winnetka, when a friend got on just outside Chicago, and failing to get my name, began giving his opinion of the speaker who was to appear at the evening forum; and the look on his face when, as we were getting off, Bill said casually, "You know this is Kirby Page, who speaks for us tonight."

Franklin D.

The interview granted to a group of us by President Roosevelt; the time when Sam Cavert, of the Federal Council of Churches, and I talked with President Hoover about German relief; and the train ride from Boston when I sat just outside the compartment of former President Calvin Coolidge; and the day when, from our office window, we saw President Woodrow Wilson drive by; and former President William Howard Taft's massive chuckle from deep down, in response to one of Sherwood's jokes.

The number of times ~~at~~ at the end of meetings when my wife heard uncomplimentary remarks about her husband.

* →

The occasion when I was the third speaker, and found myself being introduced only five minutes from time of adjournment.

Preaching in Central Methodist Church of Detroit on the Sunday after the death of Fred Fisher; and preaching in First Presbyterian Church in Pasadena after the death of Dr. Freeman.

Talking about Religion's ~~own~~ answer to totalitarianism at St. John's Evangelical and Reformed Church in Reading.

3 Six successive addresses at Parker Memorial Baptist Church in Anniston, Alabama.

Speaking at the Church of the Nazarene in Las Vegas, on making your life count these days.

The National Youth Conference of the Church of the Brethren, at Andersen, and living across the hall from Bob Richards, winner of pole vaulting at two Olympics.

Two sermons at the First Methodist Church in Montgomery, on prayer and Christian pacifism, and a nice letter from Gaston Foote.

Morning sermon and evening forum at St. Giles Presbyterian Church in Richmond.

A week at the Mennonite Camp Wood in Kansas.

Speaking for John Haynes Holmes, at the Community Church of New York City, on Why is civilization so desperately sick?

Before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, over a Western network.

4 Addresses before the Foreign Policy Association in New York City, Boston, Springfield and Albany.

Speaking in the Episcopal Cathedral in Pittsburgh, the First Lutheran Church in Dayton, and the Community Church in Boston.

That evening in the home of James T. Shotwell when assembled guests, including former Associate Justice Clarke, Raymond Robins, S. O. Levinson, John Haynes Holmes, talked about ways of uniting peace forces in a movement to persuade our government to join the World Court.

That evening when I walking in Bedford Square in London, and was greeted by McNeill Potent, whom I had known in China, on his way to the United States; and later visits in his Raleigh home.

5 The night when Sherwood and I were on the elevated on ^{the} ~~our~~ way to our homes in Sunnyside, when we became so absorbed in argument that we rode by our station; got off, crossed over, boarded the elevated, continued our discussion - and rode by again.

The sight of Alma, sprawled on the floor, classifying twenty thousand ~~questionnaire~~ questionnaire returns, sorting them by denominations, then by large cities, and ~~then~~ again by denominations - and her sigh of relief when the task was finished.

These days in New Haven when Mary made an index for a book of mine, surrounded by stacks and stacks of cards.

Having a snapshot taken at the base of the monument to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee.

6 Introductions before I ^{spoke,} ~~spoke,~~ in many places, which ran like this: "You will not agree with much of what the speaker has to say, but I know that you will give him a respectful hearing;" and in other meetings some such variation: "I disagree with the speaker's point of view, but, as Voltaire said, I would die for his right to say it."

1 The chairman of a meeting in Michigan who became so angry at what I was saying that he walked off the platform; whereupon, in the forum, a student apologized for the behavior of his college president.

7 Preaching for Howard Thurman at Howard University Chapel.

2 That afternoon in Durham, North Carolina, when James Weldon Johnsen and I walked through the deer and straight to the elevator, because Negroes were not supposed to be entertained in hotel rooms.

That Sunday morning in Tacoma when a man rushed down and threw his arms about my shoulders, and when he realized that I had not recognized him, told me his name - and my embarrassment became greater because I had not a flicker of memory where I had met him.

8 The winter afternoon at Colgate, when on top of the campus hill, the car which President Cutting was driving spun on the ice and made a complete circle.

The convention of ministers at Akron where Edward A. Steiner and I were given adverse publicity by Ku Kluxers; and later visits with Edward and Elizabeth Steiner in their Claremont home - and viewing his wonderful collection of driftwood ^{carvings} ~~pictures~~ picked up in the mountains of Colorado.

9 That evening in the home of George Albert Cee in Evanston; pleasant experiences when he wrote frequently for The World Tomorrow; and subsequent visits in Claremont.

45
44
~~Beginning in 1940, for~~

^{for months}
From 1940 to ~~1966~~ 1956, except during ~~the war~~ the
— and when Judy was ^{born} and when ^{dashing to} the
war when we could not obtain gasoline, Alma and I made the round of
one-day conferences for the American Friends Service Committee, in all
sections of the country. At the beginning, three sessions daily were
arranged. At four o'clock I spoke on economic problems, after supper
on racial questions, and in the evening on international affairs. After
several years this proved to be too strenuous, and the schedule was
reduced to supper and evening addresses. Morning and early afternoons
were used for travel in our car from place to place. We usually made
two tours each year. ¹⁹⁴⁰ Since Alma and I have been together ^{practically all the time,}
~~and on the same~~ except when she drives into town to shop or
I make an occasion ^{at} trip by train or ^{plane.} So I am deferring
further consideration of our conferences and spiritual retreats until
I ^{write} ~~talk~~ about family experiences.

when
Andy and
Barbie
and April
came —

46 A

~~HB~~

and addresses

High satisfaction came from knowing that my writings were
~~ones~~ summary of proving to be helpful. Replies to a questionnaire circulated by
 the Fellowship of Reconciliation, to find the reasons why its
 members became Christian pacifists, my books were listed first,
The World Tomorrow was most often mentioned as the periodical
 wielding greatest influences, and my addresses were most
 frequently emphasized. A nation-wide poll conducted by the
 Hazen Foundation, to discover the books which had proved to
 be most helpful to college students, showed that Living Creatively
 was first on a list of four hundred volumes mentioned. At the
 Miami International Convention of the Disciples of Christ, I was
 deeply moved by a testimonial dinner and a citation.

John Haynes Holmes, Rufus M. Jones, Francis J. McConnell,
 Harry F. Ward and Sherwood Eddy -
 Six of us sent a cablegram to Mahatma Gandhi, in 1931,
 expressing our doubts about the wisdom of a visit to America
 at that time, on the ground that his presence would be exploited
 by the press, and a caricature of his position would be offered to
 the American people. Five weeks ~~xxx~~ previously Sherwood and I
 had cabled congratulations upon his notable victory.

49 ~~48~~ ~~45~~ and writing.

derived ^{so} It was never necessary to drive myself in all this speaking. I ~~derived~~ ~~so~~ much joy from it that the constant temptation was to attempt too much. As I look back over these years on the campus, in conferences, on the lecture platform, and in the churches, it is difficult to imagine more creative opportunities than were presented to me week after week. Zest and enthusiasm and health were mine in abounding measure.

^{No 97} of course, There were inherent weaknesses and superficialities in my work as traveling social evangelist. Usually my speaking tours were one-day stands, and often I took the night Pullman to my next engagement, or was compelled to change trains in the middle of the night. I lived under intense pressure, and frequently spoke when I was ^{temptation} ~~temptation~~ fatigued. The ~~temptation~~ to repeat was not always resisted. One saving factor was that, when not on tour, I was constantly studying and writing. I found ~~my~~ speaking and writing to be mutually stimulating. I would rather speak than not to speak, and prefer ~~to~~ to write than not to write. Thus my days have been spent in doing what I most wanted to do. Surely my cup runneth over!

a masterpiece of understatement!

in 95 Blue Book

Many times Alma and I have ~~spoken~~ ^{located} spoken of our great loss and deep regret because we have been denied the joys of minister ^{with people} and wife, with deep and sustained fellowship over a long period. And thereby we have been subjected to serious spiritual handicap, in that we ^{have} not shared the daily burdens of the same people, ^{since} ^{have} we moved rapidly from place to place.

Sometimes
⊗ ~~often~~ I have been ~~introduced~~ introduced as a minister who finds it advisable to leave town soon after an address.

to men

layman

32A

At the end of 1922, Nevin Sayre and I suggested to Fred B. Smith, famous evangelist and prominent in the Federal Council of Churches, that he invite a group to consider issuing a statement about the

Call together

responsibility of the churches in relation to war. After a three hours of discussion by twenty-four individuals, William P. Merrill, Harry

Emerson Fosdick and I were requested to draft a statement. One hundred

Plea
and fifty-five individuals signed "The Churches' ~~Statement~~ Against War and the War System." From this historic document

Our position in this appeal does not involve theoretical pacifism; we are not concerned to deny the necessity of using force, massed force, it may be in an emergency, nor of a moderate military organization for defensive purposes. But the war system is not an appeal to force in an emergency - it is a long drawn out and elaborate preparation for the use of every known means of cruel and collective destruction... There are some among us, of whom the signatories of this appeal form a small group, who regard war as the most ruinous organized sin which mankind now faces; who are sure that the war system and the Christian Gospel cannot permanently abide together on the same earth; who see clearly that the spirit of war and the spirit of the Gospel are antithetical, the one representing what the other hates and would destroy; who recognize that war is futile as a means of furthering Christ's Kingdom, even where the end sought is righteous and where the spirit of the combatants is sacrificial... We therefore urge ~~in~~ all the people of the churches, and all ministers in particular, to an outspoken declaration that the war system and the Gospel of Christ are diametrically and irreconcilably opposed. We urge that that without delay this crisis of decision between war and Christ be unmistakably recognized and stated.

~~was signed in the year 1922, when the rising tide against war first~~
~~one hundred and fifty-five~~
The signatories included these notable individuals:

- Gaius Glenn Atkins
- William E. Barton
- Bishop Charles H. Brent
- Arthur J. Brown
- William Jennings Bryan
- F. W. Burnham
- President Kenyon L. Butterfield
- S. Parkes Cadman
- Bishop James Cannon
- Francis E. Clark
- Henry Sloane Coffin
- Cleveland H. Dodge
- Irving Fisher
- Harry Emerson Fosdick
- Newell Dwight Hillis
- Hamilton Holt
- Lynn Harold Hough

- Charles E. Jefferson
- David Starr Jordan
- President Henry Churchill King
- Dean Shailer Mathews
- Bishop Francis J. McConnell
- James G. McDonald
- A. C. McGiffert
- Charles Clayton Morrison
- John R. Mott
- Joseph Fort Newton
- Frank Mason North
- Francis G. Peabody
- Fleming H. Revell
- Bishop Joseph Schrembs
- Charles M. Sheldon
- John Timothy Stone
- Fred B. Smith
- Cornelius Woelfkin
- Frank A. Vanderlip
- Mary E. Woolley
- Bishop Charles D. Williams
- Herbert L. Willett

Cardinal O'Connell

George W. Wickersham

after

STATE — ZONE

NAME (Please print) -

TOTAL AMOUNT ENCLOSED ----- \$

All 9 for \$3.00

W

This proved to be a historic document, because it was the first
of the conviction, of Americans Christians - Protestants and
proclamation by an influential group ~~of the conviction~~ that war is
the most ruinous organized sin, and that the spirit of war and the
spirit of the Gospel are antithetical, and the first appeal by
prominent churchmen that the crisis of decision between war and
Christ be recognized and stated. No 41

~~Handwritten signature~~

and
Roman
Catholics

This proved to be a historic document, because it was the first
in the United States
influential group proclamation that the Gospel of Christ and the war
system are diametrically and irreconcilably opposed and the first prominent
group appeal to make clear this crisis of decision between war and Christ -
and among the signatories was a Cardinal and a Bishop of the Roman
Catholic Church.

Because of its historic significance, space is being
given for a partial list of signatories:

~~The one hundred fifty-five signatories included these notable individuals:~~

(K)

Peter Ainslie, Christian Temple, Baltimore
~~Bishop Charles Fox Anderson, Methodist Bishop of Chicago~~
~~Bishop~~ William F. Anderson, Methodist Bishop of Chicago
Gaius Glenn Atkins, First Congregational Church, Detroit
Henry A. Atkinson, General Secretary of the Church Peace Union
Roger W. Babson, statistician
William E. Barton, Oak Park Congregational Church
Samuel Zane Batten, American Baptist Publication Society
William M Bell, Bishop, United Brethren, Harrisburg
Nolan R. Best, Editor, The Continent
Charles H. Brent, Episcopal Bishop, Buffalo
Arthur J. Brown, Secretary Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions
Charles R. Brown, Dean, Yale Divinity School
William Jennings Bryan, statesman, Miami
F. W. Burnham, President, United Christian Missionary Society
Kenyon L. Butterfield, President, Massachusetts Agricultural College
S. Parkes Cadman, Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn
James Cannon, Jr., Methodist Bishop, Washington
Samuel McCrea Cavert, General Secretary, Federal Council of Churches
Francis E. Clark, President, United Society of Christian Endeavor
Henry Sloane Coffin, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York
Ozora S. Davis, President, Chicago Theological Seminary
Cleveland H. Dodge, merchant, New York
W. H. P. Faunce, President, Brown University
Irving Fisher, Yale University
Raymond B. Fosdick, attorney, New York
Harry Emerson Fosdick, Union Theological Seminary
John F. Frey, Editor, International Molders Journal
Thomas P. Gailor, Episcopal Bishop, New York
Charles W. Gilkey, Hyde Park Baptist Church, Chicago
Newell Dwight Hillis, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn
Hamilton Holt, Editor, The Independent
Lynn Harold Hough, Central Methodist Church, Detroit
Edwin H. Hughes, Methodist Bishop, Boston
Charles E. Jefferson, Broadway Tabernacle, New York
M. Ashby Jones, Ponce de Leon Baptist Church, Atlanta
Edgar DeWitt Jones, Central Christian Church, Detroit
David Starr Jordan, Stanford University
James R. Joy, Editor, The Christian Advocate, New York
Henry Churchill King, President, Oberlin College
Marion Lawrence, Secretary, International Sunday School Association
Shailer Mathews, Dean, Chicago University Divinity School
Francis J. McConnell, Methodist Bishop, Pittsburg
A. C. McGiffert, Union Theological Seminary
William P. Merrill, Brick Presbyterian Church, New York
Charles Clayton Morrison, Editor, The Christian Century
John R. Mott, General Secretary, International Y. M. C. A.
Joseph Fort Newton, Church of the Divine Paternity, New York
Cardinal O'Connell, Roman Catholic Archbishop, Boston
Joseph Schrembs, Roman Catholic Bishop, Cleveland
Fred B. Smith, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ
John Timothy Stone, Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago
Herbert L. Willett, University of Chicago
Charles D. Williams, Episcopal Bishop, Detroit
Mary E. Woolley, President, Mount Holyoke College

Back 40 32

which Jesus did not mean and means nothing that he did mean; and that it is a more blatant denial of every Christian doctrine about God and man than all the theoretical atheists on earth ever could devise... Today we must make unmistakably clear our position against war, against competitive preparation for war, against reliance on war... We can put Christ above Caesar and dare Caesar to do his worst to us while we follow Christ. For my part I propose to win the right to do that... at any rate, I never expect to bless another war... Mr. Page is engaged here in the high business of taking Jesus in earnest, and a more necessary Christian procedure just now it is impossible to imagine.

One of the high moments of my life was at a student ^CConference at
toward
Silver Bay. As I walked ~~away~~ a group gathered around Dr. Fosdick,
he exclaimed, "Here comes the man who was chiefly responsible for
my becoming a Christian pacifist."

About half of my time for ~~more than forty years~~ has been spent in serious study and much writing. Leisure and opportunity have been provided by the financial assistance of several friends, notably Sherwood Eddy. I have been able to purchase required books, and have always had access to excellent libraries. For extended periods, I subscribed to as many seventy-five periodicals and bulletins, and for more than ~~four~~ ^{four} ~~decades~~ ^{decades} ~~years~~ ^{years} ~~they~~ have regularly read The New York Times, daily and Sunday, except when abroad or on extended trips. On long ocean voyages, a trunk filled with books was always at hand, and on train journeys ~~as~~ a stimulating, constantly volume was ~~always~~ within reach. Fifteen of the books I have written or edited have dealt with the will of God, the significance of Jesus, and the nurture of the spiritual life; and fifteen have ~~dealt~~ ^{been concerned} with international, economic, political and racial problems; although, of course, personal responsibility for social action has been emphasized throughout my writings.

When I had completed the manuscript of War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure, in 1923, I sent it for criticism to several friends. One of ^a secretary of a prominent peace organization, ^{them} begged me to leave out the section in which I contended that the evidence does not support the theory of Germany's sole guilt for the war, on the ground that it was so controversial that it would limit the circulation of the book. ^{The} ~~This~~ ^{of Germany's sole guilt} ~~thesis~~ ^{was embodied in Article} ~~which~~ ^{and} 231 of the Treaty of Versailles, ~~was~~ ^{became} greatly embittered the Germany people, and ~~was~~ ^{became} a primary factor in the rise of Adolf Hitler to power. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick did me the high honor of writing an Introduction to this book, in which, for the first time, I think, he recorded his convictions as a pacifist Christian. Here are some of his words:

Mr. Page has written for us one of the most challenging books that has appeared for many a year... this I do see clearly: that war is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts mankind today; that it is utterly and irremediably unchristian; that however armed conflict in times past may ~~have~~ have served an evolutionary purpose it has now become not only futile but suicidal; and that recognition of this fact is necessary to the continuance of civilization; that the war system means everything

After six years of fruitful existence the F. C. S. O. was merged with the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Alma and I had been members since 1916. ~~Through the years I have known its leaders intimately and have formed friendships with many of its members in all parts of the country. Especially warm and affectionate have been my relations with John Merin Sayre, A. J. Muste, Harold E. Fey, Shorty Collins, Howard Kester, Claud Nelson, B. Tarrt Bell, Constance Rumbough, Orval Etter and Glenn Smiley.~~

An abortive effort in which I participated was the League for Independent Political Action. At the end of 1929 a distinguished company met at the International House in New York City to consider the possibility of working for a new political party. Among those participating were John Dewey, Paul H. Douglas, Sherwood Eddy, Norman Thomas, A. J. Muste, Oswald Garrison Villard. An impressive national committee was formed, with John Dewey as chairman, while I was made chairman of the executive committee. Some months later Howard Y. Williams became executive secretary. Time was to prove that the new movement had too many generals and high commissioned officers and only a few rank and file soldiers. It never had a grass-roots following. In 1930 Alma and I joined the Socialist Party, in which we retained membership until 1951, when we became convinced of the futility of running Socialist candidates, and in 1952 gave our support to Adlai Stevenson.

From all this it is evident that much of my time during these years was devoted to social problems, in an effort to awaken and challenge Christians to take seriously the application of Christian principles to economics, politics, international affairs and race relations. I was blessed with abounding energy and moved at a rapid pace throughout the nation. This was done at the expense of my family, for I was away

? Membership in the F. O. R. has been one of the stimulating impacts upon my life, and I am indebted to close relationships with many of its members more than I can express.

32 (W)

One of my earliest efforts in the field of the social gospel was to help with the formation of the Fellowship for A Christian Social Order. Sherwood ~~Ward~~ and I became convinced of the need for a fellowship which would include pacifists and liberal minded Christians who were not pacifists, and we ^{received} ~~received~~ an encouraging response. On May 31, 1921, just prior to sailing for Europe with the first seminar, we met with 25 men and women from seven religious denominations. This group ~~decided to proceed and~~ formed a continuation committee, which included Daniel A. Poling, William Adams Brown, Samuel M. Cavert, and Mrs. Robert E. Speer. On November 2nd and 3rd about 125 persons from ten states formally brought the F. C. S. O. into being. Sherwood Eddy was elected chairman and I became executive secretary, and devoted much time to the new movement, traveling in all parts of the nation and organizing local groups. Among the members of the National Committee during the first year were Dean Charles Reynolds Brown, Henry Hitt Crane, Charles W. Gilkey, Rufus Jones, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, A. J. Muste, G. Bromley Oxnam, E. A. Steiner. In 1924 I became chairman of the executive committee, while Reinhold Niebuhr, Alva W. Taylor, and Ben M. Cherrington served as regional secretaries, without salary. ^{over} For three successive summers extended conferences were held.

Then Miss Mary Blanche Greene served as an employed secretary.

H Another-
33 A swept over me
~~thrilling~~ ^{sensation} ~~moment~~ ~~as I read a letter~~
from E. Stanley Jones, in which he told me that Mahatma Gandhi was
publishing War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure serially in his
own ~~magazine~~ periodical. More than thirty years later, I received this
letter from my friend Par Danforth:

This little note may surprise you, but since I came across your name in an interesting place the other day I thought you'd like to know about it. I have been living in New Delhi for two or three years now and have had occasion to meet Pyrelal Nayar, one of Gandhi's secretaries and get acquainted with him. He is the custodian of many of Gandhi's papers and the other day he was showing me some of them and we spotted your name. Apparently Gandhi was much impressed with your writings and, on one of his days of silence, he was having a written "conversation" about you with someone, probably a guest from America. Since only Gandhi's part was written, we could not figure out who the person was, but Gandhi displayed much interest in you and your work.

33 B

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, sent paper-bounded

copies of War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure to fifty-three

thousand ministers, with an accompany^{ing} letter from Dr. Gulick. A few

weeks later Samuel McCrea Cavert, General Secretary, ~~and~~

summarized comments that came, ^{varying} from "The book is absolutely seditious
and should be excluded from the mails," to "The most helpful discussion

of war and peace that has yet appeared." Mr. Cavert himself thought

that "it has probably done more than any other single publication to

bring the ministers and other Christian leaders sharply face to face

with the question as to what they are going to do about war."

In a letter by John R. Mott, which was sent with a copy of my book to all secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association,

he said: "... a booklet which is in a class by itself... I have had

occasion to examine between 300 and 400 books and pamphlets dealing

with this subject, and I have no hesitation in saying that I place

this concise publication among the first three or four in point

of telling effectiveness and convincing force."

3 4 (2)

in which ~~Sherwood~~ and I collaborated,

Copies of The Abolition of War were sent by the Federal Council
of Churches of Christ in America to seventy-five thousand ministers,
with a letter from F. Ernest Johnson. Among the comments that came:
~~was~~ "My honest opinion is that Mr. Page is a Traitor, and
his utterances are for the most part equal in seriousness to a state
of treason." But this was exceptional, as only twenty of two hundred
and sixty-two replies were unfavorable.

34 A

~~When Professor MacIntosh of the Yale Divinity School was denied~~
~~on the ground that he refused to say that he would bear arms in defense of US~~
~~citizenship by the Supreme Court in 1931. Sherwood, Reinie and I took~~

the initiative in obtaining the signatures of forty-six other clergymen

Charles W. Gilkey,

and editors - including S. Parkes Cadman, Harry Emerson Fosdick,

Samuel McCrea Carter, Bishop Mc Connell a communication
Charles Clayton Morrison, Dean Weigle, and Rabbi Wise - to ~~addressed to~~

addressed to the President and Congress of the United States, in which we stated that

we felt impelled ~~to make a statement~~

to notify the constituted authorities of our nation that we share the convictions of those who have been denied citizenship... We concur in the minority opinion of the Supreme Court that "in the forum of conscience, duty to ~~us~~ a moral power higher than the State has always been maintained. The reservation of that supreme obligation, as a matter of principle, would undoubtedly be made by many of our conscientious citizens. The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation."

Some of us were greatly disturbed when, in 1931, the Supreme Court denied citizenship to Professor MacIntosh, Professor at Yale Divinity School and former Canadian Army chaplain, and Miss Marie Bland, a war nurse, because of their refusal to say that they would bear arms in defense of the United States.

This statement was released to the press of the nation, with an appeal for additional signatures. For weeks mail poured into our office from aroused citizens who desired to put themselves on record as opposing the ~~refusal~~ refusal to grant citizenship to conscientious pacifists.

34 (Z)

41 B

Six of us - John Haynes Holmes, Rufus M. Jones, Francis J. McConnell, Harry F. Ward and Sherwood Eddy - sent a cablegram to Mahatma Gandhi, in 1931, expressing our doubts about the wisdom of a visit to America at that time, on the ground that his presence would be exploited by the press. Here are lines from a letter which I sent to him at that time.

We are in general agreement that the press in America is so unethical and sensational that it would exploit you if you come to this country, and grossly misrepresent your cause. Public sentiment for Indian freedom in this country is gaining steadily... You will appreciate the spirit in which we have sent this cablegram. We are doing our utmost to present the Indian cause effectively to the American public. As you know, we are in complete agreement with your objective and the non-violent method~~s~~ you have been using, and we rejoice beyond words at the success which has already come to your cause. We feel confident that complete freedom for India will be achieved within the immediate future. If it still seems wise to you to make the trip to America, you may be assured that we will cooperate with you to the utmost of our capacity.

34
creating effective agencies of international justice and security, what reception would this two-fold announcement receive? ... Is not such a dramatic move the very thing that is needed to arouse the peoples of the various nations and to jolt statesmen out of old ruts and compel them to abandon the war system and substitute international agencies of justice and security?

now
These words were written thirty-three years ago, and must appear to many readers to be naive and irresponsible. My own conviction, ~~however~~, ^{however} remains unshaken that God, in his infinite wisdom and boundless love, had a way of preventing the rise of Fascism and Nazism and of moderating and was endeavoring to reveal it to us. the aggression of Communism, In 1924 the sanest policy was to follow the way of Jesus, because it represents the will of God for our lives. Of course, it is dangerous to follow in the steps of our Lord, ^{reckless} ~~but~~ ^{but} to live again in 1924, I would prefer the calculated risk of waging peace, ^{know how,} drifting inaction and gambling on as best I ~~know how,~~ ^{know how,} than to support a policy of ~~drift and gamble~~ threats of retaliation. I still believe that ~~the~~ World War II could have been prevented, and that the virulence of Communist tyranny could have been reduced. 34 (2)

In 1932 Living Creatively appeared, the first of my seven anthologies of devotional readings. Much of the work on it was done in a summer cabin at Hightop, near Blue Ridge, North Carolina, with Reinhold Niebuhr and ^{and sister} his mother ~~as~~ near neighbors. In a nationwide poll, it was voted ~~the~~ ^{most} ~~disliked~~ by students and workers with students the most helpful volume, from more than four hundred books ~~mentioned~~. In my various anthologies, I ~~included~~ ^{included} readings stressing both sides of the Christian gospel, nurture, personal commitment and spiritual ~~values~~, as well as social passion and social action. For five years I have been publishing ^{an} annual series of devotional readings, under the title Living With Peace of Mind, primarily ^{weekly} ~~for use on the church page of newspapers and in papers published by local churches.~~ In these readings, I have stressed the truth that peace of mind is a gift from God to those who prepare themselves to receive it.

my volume Individualism and Socialism was recommended by the Book-of-the-Month Club.

34 = ~~214~~

Six months before the outbreak of World War II, I was one of a hundred signatories to an Affirmation of Christian Pacifist Faith, from which these lines are taken:

in
We believe that the Cross is revealed God's way of dealing
↑ with wrongdoers, and that to this way all Christians are
↑ called. We believe that war, which attempts to overcome evil with more evil, is a denial of the way of the Cross... We believe that when the state in the prosecution of war seeks to compel the denial of the gospel, the Church must resist at whatever cost... Therefore we proclaim to a world which is once again madly preparing for war that the gospel of God as revealed in Jesus Christ, which leaves us with no other choice but to refuse to sanction or participate in war, contains also its hope of redemption. We affirm our faith that the mission of the church today is to witness with singleness of heart, at whatever cost, to the power of good to overcome evil, of love to conquer hatred, of the Cross to shatter the sword.

Among the signatories to this Affirmation were Roland H. Bainton, Charles F. Boss Jr., George ^A Buttrick, Fay Campbell, Allan Knight Chalmers, Bernard C. Clausen, Phillips Elliott, Harold E. Fey, John Haynes Holmes, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Georgia Harkness, Allan A. Hunter, Halford E. Luccock, A. J. Muste, Ray Newton, ^{Harold} Phillips, Clarence E. Pickett, John Nevin Sayre, Paul Scherer, Vida C. Scudder, Ralph Sockman, Ernest Fremont Tittle.

During World War II, twenty-eight of us joined in a protest against "obliteration" bombing against German cities. I well remember the horror which greeted Germany's first air raids on British cities in 1915. When Hitler destroyed Coventry from the air, President Roosevelt sent a blistering cablegram of protest against ^{mass} air attacks upon citizens. Then our air force, in cooperation with our Allies, retaliated with "obliteration" bombing, raining fire bombs and "block busters" continuously for forty-eight hours on Dresden, with two hundred and fifty thousand wounded and killed. Miss Vera Britten had gathered evidence of the barbarous and revolting consequences of these air attacks upon civilians, and made a strong appeal to Christian conscience to protest against these inhumanities. The twenty-eight of us who signed such a public protest included George A. Buttrick, Henry H. Crane, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Allan A. Hunter, E. Stanley Jones, Rufus M. Jones, Clarence Pickett, Ralph W. Sockman, and Ernest Freemont Tittle. Our protest was featured on the front page of the New York Times and many other dailies, and called forth much editorial abuse in the press of the nation. ^{It was reported that} The ratio of denunciations to approvals ran about fifty to one.

34 B

Soon after World War II began, I published a forty-thousand word pamphlet, entitled How To Keep America Out of War. ^{It} ~~was~~ was issued under the imprint of seven peace organization, including the American Friends Service Committee, the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist General Conference, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In bundle orders this 96-page booklet sold for five cents each, and copies were sent out on consignment. ^{from friends} I obtained a fund of eight thousand dollars as a subsidy to make possible the low selling price, and to enable us to send thousands of free copies to strategic individuals. To nearly ~~the~~ ^{seven} seventeen hundred colleges and universities ~~over~~ [^] copies were sent, to the President, the library, the Christian Association, the peace committee, ~~the~~ professor of Christian ethics, ^{editor of college paper,} professor of public speaking, ^{Three and thirty} ~~Four~~ hundred thousand copies were printed, and the churches were ~~thousands~~ flooded with this urgent challenge to keep America out of war.

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Some

~~Some~~

translated and

~~Some~~ of my books have been published in French, German, Dutch, ~~Swedish~~, Swedish, Danish, Greek, Bulgarian, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, and published in England and India. From time to time various articles of mine have ~~been translated and published in foreign~~ been translated and published in foreign ~~periodicals~~ periodicals.

~~Periodicals~~

From old boxes, I have dug out copies of my articles taken from more than a hundred periodicals, covering a wide range of subjects, including The Readers Digest, The Atlantic Monthly, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Christian Advocate, Presbyterian The Watchman-Examiner, The Christian Evangelist, Life, The Christian Herald, Fortnightly Review, Forum, Living Age, Nation, New Republic, Survey, New York Times. For some years I was a Contributing Editor of The Christian Century.

(K)


From bottom of 34

Vera Britton - A bomb

35 A

For two years my column "Religion in Life" appeared weekly
in the Cleveland News. ^{and ~~for~~ my} ~~for~~ column "God's Living Letters" and
"Living With Peace of Mind" have ^{for five years been} ~~being~~ used in hundreds of ~~other~~ ^{publications}
in denominational journals,
newspapers, on the church page of dailies, and in papers published
by local churches,

I wrote a biography of Sherwood Eddy, but, unfortunately,
it did not measure up to the standard of publication, being too
heavy and not sufficiently dramatic.

 In 1924 Sherwood Eddy and I collaborated in writing The Abolition
of War. In my section I gave answers to fifty questions which had
often been raised in public forums and discussion groups. Among the
convictions recorded are these:

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I am unable to accept the doctrine of Tolstoi that the use of
force is intrinsically wrong... ~~the use of force in~~ the use of force in
protecting a helpless woman from a big brute is not a true
parallel to modern war... Is war the lesser of two evils? Lesser
than what specific evil? Which of the great evils of modern ~~war~~ *life*
are absent from war? List them and see: wholesale slaughter of
innocent and guilty with every conceivable weapon on destruction;
widespread hatred and lust of blood; lack of reverence for person-
ality; the supremacy of the law of necessity and the subordination
of all normal values; world-wide propaganda of deceit and falsehood;
the vast increase in sexual immorality; the refusal to love one's
enemies; the shattering of faith in a loving God; forsaking the
worship of one universal Father and bowing down before national
war gods; sowing the seeds of future wars: are these lesser evils? ...
Is War with Japan inevitable? The answer depends at least as much
upon what we do as upon what the Japanese do. If we continue to
discriminate against them and thoughtlessly enact legislation which
they regard as a direct insult, if our yellow press continues its
false and exaggerated propaganda, and if our leaders appeal for
increased armaments to be used against them, it does not require
the prophetic gift to say that we are likely to have serious
trouble with Japan within the next twenty or thirty years. But
what possible excuse is there for such a fatal policy on our part? ...
What would happen if the churches of the United States should
induce our government to make the following proposition to the
nations of the earth: That all armies and navies should be reduced
20 per cent each year for the next four years, and that on the
first day of January, 1930, all war, offensive and defensive,
should be declared illegal and criminal and the whole war system
abandoned? If at the same time our government should announce
its willingness to cooperate to the limit with other nations in

Old clippings remind me that during World War II, and many times since then, I outlined what seemed to me to be the mandate of our Lord: the Allies should have remembered that the Germans are God's children and our brothers; they ~~should~~ have used their strength to help ruined Germany solve its problems; they ~~should~~ have formed a world government, based on the recognition of the unity of the human race; they ~~should~~ have demonstrated their love of liberty by permitting the Germans to regain their freedom; and with Germany disarmed and paralyzed, they should have brought their armaments down to Germany's level, as a step toward disarmament. With nineteen hundred other Protestant clergymen, in May, 1941, I signed a Ministers' Covenant, re-affirming my Christian pacifism, and opposing America's entrance into the war. The following year, I was one of the signatories to A Christmas Manifesto, in which we ~~outlined~~ outlined a program of achieving a just and durable peace, and bringing about reconciliation of the warring nations.

During the Korean War, using the literary device of ^{a radio} address by the President of the United States to the peoples of the world, I supported a program which included these statements ^{||}.

The Announcer, the President of the United States:

I ought to tell you without reservation that I am in a position to know that our civilized society cannot survive a worldwide conflict waged with the weapons now in the possession of the various governments... You will understand, therefore, why I have been much in prayer during recent days... All my life I have been taught that a humble and contrite ~~heart~~ spirit is pleasing to God. Thus it is right for me to begin with a word of confession. Our sins have found us out... Too often have we bowed before the gods of nationalism and militarism... Too frequently have we trusted in military power... I therefore propose that we stop the fighting now, and gather immediately around the conference table... I now propose that our Government offer to contribute fifteen billion dollars annually for a decade to the United Nations, as part of an international pool to be contributed by all the nations and to be administered by the United Nations for rehabilitation and economic reconstruction all over the world... I promise you that I will do my utmost to bring about an agreement whereby all nations simultaneously will disarm "down to the last rifle," if I may borrow a phrase from a distinguished Senator. I will not cease striving while there is breath in my body, to bring about universal disarmament... The time has now come to take the logical necessary next step to world government... More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of. In contrition and humility, let us pray that we may know what God wants us to do in our desperate plight, and that we may do his holy will at any cost. Let us pray for faith in the power of the spirit and for courage to walk in the light.

A

We announced a four-fold function:

First, to examine various aspects of modern civilization from the angle of ethical and spiritual values, especially in the light of the religion of Jesus, and to reveal the hypocrisies, injustices and cruelties in our present social order.

Second, to discover and advocate constructive and ethical methods of bringing about the radical changes - deep-rooted and far-reaching changes, not temporary repairs - which must be made in existing social systems before the new society can be created.

Third, to expose the menace of violence as exemplified by Militarism, Capitalism, Fascism, and Communism, and to promote Pacifism and Socialism, especially in seeking a more effective relationship between them.

Fourth, to interpret the actual and potential contribution of religion in generating the vision, confidence, courage and sacrifice required to transform the existing society into the Kingdom of God on earth.

Chapter 6

EDITING THE WORLD TOMORROW

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Chapter 6

EDITING THE WORLD TOMORROW

From 1926 to 1934 I was editor of The World Tomorrow a monthly magazine founded by Norman Thomas. This position had been offered to me in 1921, but at that time it did not seem wise to accept. ~~It was understood that only half of my time would be devoted to the magazine, since I was unwilling to abandon other writing and extensive speaking across the nation. At the beginning, Devere Allen served as Executive Editor, but in 1928 he and Reinhold Niebuhr joined me as editors.~~

After returning from Detroit, in 1923, I talked with Sherwood Eddy about a remarkable young minister named Reinhold Niebuhr. Within a few weeks we invited him to join our non-salaried staff of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, and work with us in the colleges. This appealed to him, ^{In order that he might be released from some} and for many months he appeared on numerous campuses under the auspices of the Fellowship, while continuing his ministry in Detroit. One day I asked Professor Harry F. Ward why Niebuhr was not being invited to the faculty of Union Theological Seminary. When the reply came that the Seminary did want him, but no provision had been made in the budget to make possible a call to him, I went at once to the office of Sherwood Eddy to find out if he could obtain the required funds. This he was able to do. So it ^{happened} ~~came about~~ that when Niebuhr came to Union in the fall of 1928, he joined Devere and me as a non-salaried editor of The World Tomorrow. During the next six years Sherwood and Reinie and Devere were my most intimate friends. At one period Niebuhr seriously considered leaving the Seminary and seeking a pastorate of a church among industrial workers. When no opening was found, he settled down to become America's foremost theologian. Until our family moved from New York in 1934, we were together constantly. His friendship was greatly treasured, and one of my deepest regrets is that in recent years I have talked with him only infrequently.

Sherwood
responsible for his Church
provided salary for an assistant

13

The first issue under my editorship was devoted to Militarism in the U. S. A. The first article was by Mahata Gandhi, accompanied by a cordial note in his own handwriting. He began with these words:

"Non-violence is the greatest force man has ever been endowed with."

Harry A. Overstreet wrote about Militarizing Our Minds, Brigadier and Reinhold Niebuhr stressed its threat, General Gignilliat supported the R. O. T. C., George Albert Coe asked, and

Training Students for What? I emphasized the Menace of Military Preparedness. ^{One hundred} ~~2222~~ thousand copies of this number were mailed to

ministers and libraries throughout the United States.

In 1932 Paul H. Douglas, later ^a ~~United States~~ United States Senator from a non-salaried Illinois, joined us as ~~our~~ editor. Our contributing editors included ^{M.} John Haynes Holmes, Bishop Paul Joynes, Rufus ~~the~~ Jones, Norman Thomas, ^{Samuel Guy Lawrence, A.S. Morse,} ^{John Bennett,} John Bennett, Patrick Murphy Malin, H. N. Bradlesford, H. Richard ^{Edward L. Israel} Niebuhr, Bishop Francis J. McConnell. On our masthead we carried the caption, "A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus." It was a magazine of Christian pacifism and Christian socialism, and was committed to equality of opportunity and status for all races. ~~(A) + (B)~~

~~The first issue under my editorship was devoted to "Militarism in the U. S. A." The first article was by Mahatma Gandhi, accompanied by a cordial note in his own handwriting, ^{and his} ~~the~~ first sentence ~~was~~ ^{contribution} ~~was~~, "Non-violence is the greatest force man has ever been endowed with." Reinhold Niebuhr ended his ~~article~~ ^{contribution} on "The Threat of the R. O. T. C." with these words: "If we ~~that~~ can not see the war system in militarized schools we are blind to the real issue which faces a war weary world." ^{my article} ~~in the second issue~~ ^{also included} these words: "Above all, modern disciples of Jesus must be willing to take the consequences of following his example and guidance. Overcoming evil is dangerous business; whether the weapons used are bayonets and bombs or love and forgiveness... Evil can be overcome with good only when the adherents of spiritual processes are willing to endure ignominy, discomfort, pain and even death rather than abandon their ideal or forsake their method." Fifty thousand copies of this issue were mailed to ministers and libraries throughout the nation.~~

^{Prime Minister} The opening article of our second issue was by J. Ramsay MacDonald on American foreign policy. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt discussed the outworn Monroe Doctrine, Norman Thomas wrote about seeing the world with the Marines, Raymond B. Fosdick and James G. McDonald discussed the League of Nations, ~~and~~ John Haynes Holmes ^{interpreted} ~~wrote about~~ the outlawry

of war, ~~and~~ James T. Shtwell presented an interim policy for peace, and Reinhold Niebuhr ^{asked}, Does Religion Quiet or Disquiet? Our third issue was devoted to a consideration of Dictatorship and Democracy, with articles by L. P. Jacks, Harold J. Laski, Bruce Bliven and Arnold Wolfers. An early issue concentrated on the Philippines and the United States, ^{and a number} ~~articles~~ on industrial conflict included articles by William Green, Toyohiko Kagawa, Stuart Chase, George Soule, and A. J. Muste. Problems of the Carribean were discussed by Nathaniel Peffer, Paul H. Douglas, and W. M. Borchard.

As I thumb through old volumes, I find these articles: Rufus M. Jones, Building the Soul of a People; Patrick Murphy Malin, Civil Disobedience; Benson Y. Landis, What is on the Farmers' Backs? John Dewey, The Fruits of Nationalism; Charles Clayton Morrison, The Outlawry of War; Edward Alsworth Ross, The Military Mind; Halford E. Luccock, The First Fine Careless Rapture; Emily G. Balch, The Myth of Military Security; Howard Thurman, Peace Tactics and a Racial Minority; Rabindrnath Tagore, East and West; Ernest Fremont Little, What Will the Churches Do With Jesus? John C. Bennett, Christianity and Class Consciousness; Henry P. Van Dusen, The Sickness of Liberal Religion; Walter Judd, The Way of Love in China; Jerry Voorhis, Socialize the Land; Kenneth S. Latourette, An Appreciation of Non-Christian Faiths; Harold E. Fey, Free the Philippines; E. Stanley Jones, A Missionary Adventure; Pearl S. ~~the~~ Buck, The Higher Nationalism.

We published a notable series on Recent Gains in American Civilization, with articles on religion, by Harry Emerson Fosdick; government, Charles A. Beard; business and industry, Stuart Chase; industrial relations, Mary van Kleeck; peace, Norman Thomas; race relations, Charles S. Johnson; the press, Oswald Garrison Villard;

(W)

The Monroe Doctrine, over a span of many decades, was the foundation of the foreign policy of the United States in dealing with Latin American countries. In 1928 I sent a questionnaire to nine hundred leaders of public opinion, in an effort to find out *what* ~~the famous doctrine meant~~ ^{to them}. Three hundred individuals replied - editors, college presidents, college professors, clergymen, lawyers, labor leaders, manufacturers, financiers, social workers. A summary of these replied demonstrated the truth that everybody was talking about it, but there was ^{little} ~~no~~ agreement as to what it meant. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt told of a ~~Woman~~ mother who named her two children Monroe Doctrine and Savin' Grace, and soon they were affectionately called Little Docky and Say. Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy once confessed, "I believe strictly in the Monroe Doctrine, in our Constitution, and in the laws of God." Answers to my eight questions arrayed authority against authority in every case, as one expert contradicted another. I printed distinguished names on one side and equally eminent ^{names} ~~individuals~~ on the other side. So I concluded:

The phrase "Monroe Doctrine" is another explosive expression. It can be demonstrated that most citizens of the United States have only a vague notion as to its real meaning. Yet it has become a national idol, a fetish, a shibboleth, "no more to be questioned than a fundamental dogma of the church." The phrase is charged with patriotic emotion. If a responsible official of our government should maintain that the Monroe Doctrine was being violated by a non-American nation, he would instantly be assured of the passionate support of his countrymen, no matter what the nature of the controversy and quite regardless of the merits of our position.

education, Dallas Lore Sharp; literature, Mary Austin; art, Rockwell Kent; science, David Starr Jordan; American civilization, John Dewey; progress or decadence, Harry F. Ward; Western civilization, Paul Arthur Schilpp; an Oriental evaluation of ^{the} Modern civilization, Masaharu Anesaki.

Another series of sixteen articles discussed A New Economic Order, with contributions from E. R. ^ASeligman, Henry Raymond Mussey, Jerome Davis, Norman Thomas, Paul H. Douglas, I. M. Rubinow, Harry W. Laidler, Reinhold Niebuhr, Francis J. McConnell, Eduard C. Lindeman. Each ~~one of these series~~ ^{series} ~~was published in book form~~ was published also as a book.

We used the biographical method of presenting ideas in a series on Adventurous Americans, with articles interpreting the significance, in their respective fields, of Oliver Wendell Holmes, ^{Jane Addams} John Dewey, B. Charney ~~Ex~~ Vladeck ^{Scott Nearing} Oswald Garrison Villard, Margaret Sanger, Norman Thomas, A. J. Muste, John A. Lapp, ^{Judah L. Magnes,} Sherwood Eddy, ^{Paul H. Douglas,} W. E. B. DuBois, Carrie Chapman Catt, Roger Baldwin, ^{Paul Jones,} Wm. P. Hapgood, Sidney Hillman, ^{Francis J. McConnell,} Vida D. Scudder, ^{John Nevin Sayre,} Grace Abbott. These articles were published also as a book.

(W) As bitterness and hatred in Germany rose to the boiling point in 1930, I sent a questionnaire to a selected list of American citizens. ~~At many walks~~ We published a summary of replies from four hundred twenty-nine individuals - college presidents, professors, editors, social workers, clergymen, labor leaders, military and naval officers, bankers, lawyers. Only forty-eight ⁺ answered yes to the question, Do you believe that Germany and her allies were solely responsible for causing the World War? Less than half of those replying said yes to the question, Do you believe that Germany was more responsible than any other Power for causing the World War. ^{separate} A ~~separate~~ summary was prepared of one hundred replies from American professors of history and international relations. Only three of these individuals expressed the judgment that Germany and her allies were solely

M

I greatly ^{appreciated} ~~treasured~~ a personal note from Albert Einstein, and quote this paragraph:

It is a gratifying revelation of the temper of the American clergy that 54 per cent of those who answered your questionnaire should have indicated their purpose not to participate in any future war. Only such a radical position can be of any help to the world, since the governments of each nation are bound to present every war as a war of defense.

The theme of a World Tomorrow dinner in 1931 was, Can the Church Stop War. Notable addresses were delivered by John Haynes Holmes, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Harry Emerson Fosdick. Because of the *in American religious life,* eminence of his position, and because it is of interest historically, I am quoting an excerpt from Dr. Fosdick's address on that occasion, which we published:

A revolution has been required in order to make it possible for me to stand at a pacifist meeting like this, feeling that I belong here... I hate war. I hate war because I have seen it. I hate war for what it does to our own men. I have seen them come in freshly gassed from the front line trenches. I have watched the long, long trains loaded with their mutilated bodies. I have heard the raving of those that were crazed and the cries of those who wanted to die and could not. I hate war for what it forces us to do to our enemies, slaying their children with our blockades, bombing their mothers in their villages, and laughing at our breakfast tables over our coffee cups at every damnable and devilish thing we have been able to do to them. I hate war for its consequences, for the lies it lives on and propagates, for the undying hatreds it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in place of democracies, and for the starvation that stalks after it. I hate war, and never again will I sanction or support another!

Einstein's

Four months previously we had published ~~the~~ article, "Militant Pacifism," from which this paragraph is taken:

Even at the risk of great personal sacrifice and hardship, all who wish to do something concrete toward world pacification must refuse war service... pacifists should declare openly that they will never bear arms or take part in any military service whatsoever. I advise the recruiting of people for this idea all over the world. And for the timid ones who say, "What is the use of trying, we are so few in number," my answer is: "If you can get only two per cent of the population of the world to assert in time of peace that they will not fight, you will have a solution of international troubles." Even so small a proportion as two per cent will accomplish the desired result, for they could not be put in jail. There are not enough jails in the world to accommodate them!

responsible, and only thirty-two thought that Germany was more responsible than any other Power.

Wide discussion throughout the United States resulted from the publication, in 1931, of replies from nineteen thousand clergymen of many religious bodies. ^{More than} Twelve thousand of these individuals expressed the opinion that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war; more than ten thousand state that it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as ^{an} armed combatant; more than twelve thousand favor immediate entrance of the United States into the League of Nations.

— nearly twenty-one thousand —

An even larger number of clergymen responded to a questionnaire in 1934. ~~Fourteen thousand~~ Fourteen thousand of them expressed the opinion that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war; ~~more than~~ just under thirteen thousand state that it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant; ten thousand favor the immediate entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. The question was asked, If you favor a cooperative commonwealth, which political system seems to you to offer the most effective method of achieving this end? One hundred eleven replied Fascism, one hundred twenty-three Communism, five thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine Socialism, ten thousand six hundred ninety-one drastically reformed Capitalism.

Among the thousands of individuals replying to the first and the second questionnaire ^{some} on war and peace, ^{over the signatures of} expressed a sense of outrage that such questions should be sponsored and sent out ~~by~~ distinguished leaders as J. Parkes Cadman, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Daniel A. Hoising, W. Russell Bowie

5 A

~~W. Russell Bowie~~ W. Russell Bowie, S. Parkes Cadman, Sherwood Eddy, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Edward L. Israel, M. Ashby Jones, Wm. P. King, F. H. Knubel, John McDowell, Wm. P. Merrill, Reinhold Niebuhr, D. P. McGeachy, ^{Kirby Page} Daniel A. Poling, John Nevin Sayre, William Scarlett, and Ralph W. Sockman

General Douglas MacArthur sent me a long letter of surprise and dismay:

That men who wear the cloth of the church should openly defend repudiation of the laws of the land, with the necessary implications and ramifications arising from such a general attitude toward our statutes, seems almost incredible. It will certainly hearten every potential or actual criminal and malefactor who either has or contemplates breaking some law... To render our country helpless would invite destruction, not only of our political and economic freedom, but also of our religion... In all modesty may I not say to the opponents of national defense that Our Lord, who preached the Sermon on the Mount, later in his career declared: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword."

From Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske came this word:

My opinion may be briefly expressed by saying that their significance is about the same as would be the replies of those 19,000 clergymen to eight questions concerning proposed cures of cancer... the matter of ~~war~~ preventing war practically is within the domain of statesmanship, not religion. It belongs to the state, not the church. And it seems to me as clear as the noon-day sun that it is just as wrong for the church to meddle in affairs of state as for the state to meddle in affairs of the church.

^{Sent}
~~From~~ Various clergymen ~~came~~ these comments:

What is behind this questionnaire? Is it communism, bolshevism or rank anarchism? Do you realize that any man who answers "Yes" to that question could be arrested - and would be in case of war - for disloyalty, perjury, and treason? To my mind it is treason to ask it... If they like the communist form of doctrine and life, then let them depart for the country of the muttering, long-whiskered, hellish tribe of that land. ^Ifor ~~any suspicious~~ one, am even suspicious of some ~~names~~ whose names appear at the bottom of the letter enclosed with the questionnaire, as being sympathetic if not close friends of the communists and believers in their teachings... The colored race is hoping that soon we will get so good, we will lay down our arms, so they can begin on us... I shall remember the immortal words of Nathan Hale and gladly offer my life to my country, America, in any war in which she may engage, and without any question on my part as to whether ~~my~~ my country is justly or unjustly engaged in that war... That would be treason, and such churches should be closed... Such action would be a slap in the face of God, since His book - the Bible - prophecies war to the end... Pacifism breeds sissies as efficiently as idleness breeds laziness. A military environment breeds men...

A lot of preachers are making asses out of themselves over this anti-war stuff. They are forfeiting, and justly so, their influence over redblooded, sensible Americans... Refusal to support the Government would put the churches on the level with bootleggers... I think the churches of America should be the last of the ~~nation's~~ nation's institutions to turn slackers and cowards by deserting it in its hour of need.

The trend in attitude toward war is revealed in a comparison of the returns from three questionnaires. At the end of 1935, The ^{Sent out questionnaires which I had prepared, and} Emergency Peace Campaign received answers from nearly thirteen thousand clergymen. In the three polls the comparative numbers of ministers who stated their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant were as follows:

	1931	1934	1935
	Number	Percentage of ministers ^{who replied}	Percentage
1931	10,427	54	
1934	12,904	62	
1935	7,237	56	

In commenting upon the strength of the pacifist movement during this period, F. Ernest Johnson, Director of the Research Department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, ^{later} wrote:

From a sociological point of view the pacifist crusade which swept the country in the twenties and thirties was an extraordinary phenomenon. Indeed, it is perhaps the most impressive single example of the power of propaganda for an idea that our history records. And here the word 'propaganda' is used in a purely descriptive sense to characterize a remarkable movement. Its strength lay very largely in the fact that those who became purveyors of its philosophy were among the most intellectual, liberal, and socially minded, and therefore the most broadly influential, of the ministerial leaders. The movement had the support of some of the most ably edited religious journals, and it produced a pamphlet literature of a vigorous and convincing sort. The influence of the spoken and written word, unsupported by vested interest of any kind, has perhaps never been so strikingly demonstrated... Christian pacifism became an indubitably authentic movement, the influence of which is strongly felt in the religious life of America now that we are at war. To a large and influential portion of the Protestant leadership war had become anathema before the blow fell at Pearl Harbor, and no clear 'testimony' in support of the war has taken form in Protestant circles.

We published, in 1930, a distinguished seven-page article by Professor Garner, of the University of Illinois, on a Proposed Program for a Non-Imperialistic Policy in Latin America. This stimulating presentation was commented upon by thirteen authorities, including William E. Dodd, Oswald Garrison Villard, Samuel Guy Inman, Lewis Gannett, Paul H. Douglas, and Charles A. Beard.

6 A

throughout the United States and Canada,
In an effort to create ~~national~~ discussion, The World
in one hundred fifty cities.
Tomorrow arranged peace meetings from Portland to ~~Portland~~ ^{Los Angeles},
from Halifax to Vancouver, and from ~~Michigan~~ ^{Detroit} to ^{Daytona Beach} Florida. Scores of
eminent religious leaders took part, with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise,
Richard Roberts and Norman Thomas participating in a ~~radio~~ broadcast
over the chain of the National Broadcasting Company.

4
The World Tomorrow

An idea to which ~~we~~ returned again and again was the sharp contrast between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. We supported the position of Norman Thomas and repudiated the strategy of Earl Browder. ~~Concerning this contrast I wrote:~~

the
The Communists accept unqualifiedly the doctrine that the end justifies the means; that is, they take over bag and baggage the military method. To members of the Third International, as to soldiers at the front, the law of necessity transcends ethical principles, and that practice is regarded as moral which leads to victory. The writer once listened for an hour to a high official of the Red Terror as he described how they saved St. Petersburg Revolution by sending armed workers throughout the city dealing out death to members of the old regime and striking terror into the ranks of counter revolutionaries. In reply to the question, "How many men did you kill?" he replied: "As many as we needed to." That is, of course, identically the same attitude as that displayed by army officers on war duty. General Tach did not rejoice over rivers of Germany blood, but merely considered slaughter a tragic necessity. It is thus evident that militarists and patriots who sanction the war system are not in a favorable position to condemn Communists for following their own example, and merely substituting class enemies for national enemies. Pacifists, however, who repudiate the war system under all circumstances, can consistently say that the method used by the Communists is highly unethical and unjustifiable... The Socialists, therefore, utterly reject the Communist method of violent revolution on ~~pragmatic~~ pragmatic grounds as well as from ethical considerations.

← Many times we declared our opposition to united front movements between Communists and Socialists, between Communists and Pacifists.

~~At various times we wrote:~~

A genuine united front is likewise impossible between Communists and Socialists, between persons who seek to transform imperialist war into civil war and pacifists who have repudiated the war method in all its manifestations.... We do not want to stress the "I told you so" ~~attitude~~ note unduly; but the events of the past few weeks seem to us to bear out the impossibility of a united front movement, as we have contended in these pages... My conviction deepens that pacifists in general, and religious groups in particular, will do well to work with agencies that are in sympathy with their pacifism and their religion, and not fritter away their energies in vain attempts to secure effective cooperation with Communist and near-Communist organizations.

My opposition to united front campaigns with Communists was so vigorous that Sherwood ~~and~~ remonstrated with me. He passed on the substance of a conversation with Norman Thomas:

I cannot quote his exact words, but what he was was to the effect that you are ~~hipped~~ 'hipped', or have a blind spot and emotional complex, or a prejudice when it comes to Marx, Communism and Soviet Russia. I find this feeling almost universal among your radical friends. Personally, I think it is affecting the usefulness of your magazine... I ask you earnestly to think it over dispassionately this summer and see if you cannot iron out this emotional complex.

While I was unalterably opposed to a united front with Communists, I was continuously writing and speaking about ways of preventing war and bringing about reconciliation between ~~Russia~~ Russia and the United States. Entire addresses were devoted to an endeavor to help audiences understand how communism came to the Soviet Union, and why its leaders ~~had~~ had acted as they did. In a syndicated article which appeared in eight denominational journals, entitled "Is Joseph Stalin More Power ^{ful} Than God?" I summarized a program of action:

1. ^{Double} Look with recognition upon the Russian leaders and people, ^{space} as children of God and our brothers.
2. Love our enemies with self-giving compassion, confronting them with continuing evidence of our goodwill toward them.
3. Face them with the conviction that they, like ourselves, can be converted by spiritual power, and that their policies, like ours, can be changed.
4. We must not make an exception and say that they are beyond reach of God's power.
5. Recognizing Stalin and his comrades as our fellow-sinner^s, and confessing our own guilt, we must endeavor to be less unworthy channels through which God's power may flow in a continuing impact upon them.
6. Through the United Nations, we must work with the Soviet Union in a stupendous effort to abolish hunger from the earth, to help peoples to help themselves, and to achieve mutual disarmament.

The substance of this proposal was repeated in a hundred sermons and addresses across the United States.

In an endeavor to reveal the nature and range of ~~our~~ articles, ^

I have selected these:

Rufus M. Jones, Building the Soul of a People
 John Dewey, The Fruits of Nationalism
 Charles Clayton Morrison, The Outlawry of War
 Halford E. Luccock, The First Fine Careless Rapture
 Emily Balch, The Myth of Military Security
 Howard Thurman, Peace Tactics and a Racial Minority
 Rabindranath Tagore, East and West
 Ernest Fremont Tittle, What Will the Churches Do With Jesus?
 Jerry Voorhis, Socialize the Land
 Kenneth S. Latourette, An Appreciation of non-Christian Faiths
 Pearl S. Buck, The Higher Nationalism
 Benson Y. Landis, What is on the Farmers' Backs?
 Patrick Murphy Malin, Civil Disobedience
 John C. Bennett, Christianity and Class Consciousness
 Walter Judd, The Way of Love in China
 Henry P. Van Dusen, The Sickness of Liberal Religion
 Harold E. Fey, Free the Philippines
 Zona Gale, Brotherhood or Things
 George W. Norris, Why the Farm Bloc?
 Samuel Guy Inman, Why Pan-Americanism Fails
 George L. Collins, How Race Prejudice is Overcome
 I. M. Rubinow, Social Insurance
 Vida D. Scudder, The Larks of St. Francis
 Eric H. Thomsen, Adult Education in Denmark
 Cedric Long, Consumers Cooperation
 E. Roy Calvert, Capital Punishment
 Alain Locke, The Negro Contribution to America
 Lynn Harold Hough, Art and Religion
 H. Richard Niebuhr, Religion and Ethics
 S. Ralph Harlow, What War Does to the Minds of Children
 Hulet M. Wells, Prison as Seen by a Leavenworth Inmate
 Sidney B. Fay, Economic and Psychological Release for Germany
 Katsuo Takenaka, Kagawa as a Pacifist
 John Nevin Sayre, The Disarmament Objective
 Jennie Lee, A Diary from a Kentucky Mining Camp
 Herman Hoffmann, Pacifism in the Catholic Church
 George A. Coe, The Social Value of Prayer and Worship
 Charles C. Webber, Clergymen Invade Industry
 Sherwood Eddy, My Ninth Visit to Russia
 E. Merrill Root, Poets and Mystics in a Machine Age
 Edward L. Israel, Recovering Radical Religion
 R. A. McGowan, Catholic Radicalism
 E. G. Homrighausen, Prophets and Social Reconstruction
 Romain Rolland, Imperialism and Revolt
 Irvin St. John Tucker, Beauty in the Home of God
 T. Swann Harding, Rescue the Consumer
 Philip S. Bernstein, Pacifism in Hitler's World
 E. Stanley Jones, A Missionary Adventure
 C. F. Andrews, Christ and Race
 Lee Vroman, The Meaning of the Turkish Revolution
 Mahatma Gandhi, Why Voluntary Poverty
 A. Herbert Gray, An Unarmed Army of Peace
 H. C. Engelbrecht, Back of the Spanish Revolution
 Cranston Clayton, A Strategy for Negroes

Guthrie
 Cranston

Anne Guthrie, A New Argentine
 Earl Cranston, Settling the Pace for Japan

John Haynes Holmes, A Study in Anti-Semitism
 Buell G. Gallagher, Christians and Radical Social Change

you to offer the most effective method of achieving this end? Drastically reformed capitalism 10,691; fascism - as in ^{Italy} ~~Italy~~ 111; communism - as in Soviet Russia and as represented by the Communist Party of the United States 123; socialism - as represented by the Socialist Party of America, or by a new and more inclusive socialistic alignment, in which the present Socialist Party would be included 5,879.

Through the eight years many ^{eminent} ~~leading~~ poets contributed to The World Tomorrow, including Edna St. Vincent Millay, Margaret Widdemeyer, Louis Untermeyer, ^{Langston Hughes}, J. Graydon Jeffries, ^{Carl John Postelmann}, Vachel Lindsay, Sarah N. Cleghorn, E. Merrill Root, Genevieve Taggart, David Morton, ^{John Richard Moreland} ^{Toyohiko Kagawa} ^{Louise Driscoll} ^{Rabindranath Tagore}, Winnifred Welles, Stanton A. Coblentz, Robert P. Tristram Coffin, ^{and much damnation}

In spite of the ^{brilliance} ~~quality~~ of my colleagues on the editorial staff and the eminence of our writers, we were never able to build the circulation beyond 16,500 copies, and many of these were subsidized subscriptions to public libraries. We were too serious, too heavy, too radical on too many issues, for a popular following. We ^{few} ~~never~~ received ^{Conservatives} ~~many~~ subscriptions from ^{or} ~~liberals~~ in religion, believers in racial segregation, or opponents of pacifism and socialism. Although the number of subscribers was never large, our list included many leaders of religion and education throughout the country. We received much praise - and few subscriptions.

All magazines of this character have to be subsidized. The \$173,000 we raised in eight years was not enough, and in the fifth year of the depression we were compelled to suspend publication, and merge with The Christian Century. There were several reasons why ~~we~~ we were not able to survive the depression. Our ^{little} ~~circulation~~ was always low, we ^{serious} ~~were~~ ^{ed} ~~unable~~ to obtain ^{much} ~~any~~ advertising, and I made several mistakes in judgment - increasing the size to 48 pages, paying substantial rates to our writers,

and Douglas

and maintaining an expensive staff, although Niebuhr and I did not receive salaries from The World Tomorrow. ^{I was always too optimistic, and the} change to a weekly proved to be a blunder. I had obtained three gifts of ^{five thousand dollars} ~~25,000~~ each, with many smaller gifts, and thought that with an editorial staff of Devere Allen, Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul H. Douglas, Halford E. Luccock, George A. Coe, ~~Dr.~~ H. N. Brailsford, we could rapidly build circulation as a weekly. Twice we sent ^{one hundred thousand} ~~100,000~~ free copies to ministers and educators, with disappointing results in circulation. My own work ~~was~~ with the magazine was seriously handicapped ^{because} ~~by the fact that~~ only half time was devoted to it, and ^{because of} ~~that~~ ^{absences} frequently on extended speaking tours across the nation, and ~~making~~ a world tour of eleven months. After four years in an Arizona desert school, ^{our son} ~~Kirby Jr.~~ could not return to New York for health reasons, and ~~nine~~ months before we knew that the magazine would go under, we had made arrangements to move to California, so that he and Mary could be together in Whittier College. This would have meant that I would have been away from home even more than ^{before} ~~that~~ ^{So} ~~that~~ ^{was reduced,} my enthusiasm for the magazine, and ^{this} was a factor in my unwillingness to put forth the extra energy required to keep it alive. Through the years The World Tomorrow owed most to the ^{ability} ~~efficiency~~ and tireless zeal of Devere Allen. During the six years that Reinhold Niebuhr was an editor, we maintained affectionate relations and never had a serious difference of editorial judgment about policy.

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Chapter 7

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CONFRONTING OPPOSITION

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Chapter 7

CONFRONTING OPPOSITION

Throughout American history, in time of crisis when the clash of opinions was sharp, name-calling has been indulged in. ~~which extreme~~ ~~regards~~. It is not surprising, therefore, that in a period of two world wars and revolutions in many lands, individuals with ^{the} point of view which I shared should be called radical, unpatriotic, subversive and communistic.

The factions led respectively by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson engaged in bitter controversy. The Federalists ~~who were~~ ~~who were~~ were committed to aristocracy of leadership, looked upon democracy with contempt, and showered abuse upon its supporters. Hamilton exclaimed, "The people! - the people is a great beast!" A Federalist editor cried out, "O base democracy! Why, it is absolutely worse than street-sweepings, or the filth of the common-sewers." Noah Webster sneered, "poor porpoises," Gouverneur Morris jeered, "poor reptiles," Martha Washington scorned "filthy democrats." Jefferson was bitterly attacked as an enemy of his class, owner as he was of broad acres and one hundred fifty-four slaves. "The Reign of Terror" is the title used for a chapter in a recent history ^{of} ~~which~~ ~~edition~~ this period. The Alien and Sedition laws were used in an effort to destroy the political power of all who supported government by the people.

In the campaign of 1828, the propertied class looked upon Andrew Jackson with such contempt and such fear that Chief Justice Marshall wrote, "Should Jackson be elected, I shall look upon the government as virtually dissolved." *No 11*

Some Anti-Federalists "now ventured to call themselves Democrats - a term as malodorous in the political circles of Washington's day as Bolsheviki in the age of President Harding."

double space

Jackson was attacked as "a usurper, an adulterer, a gambler, a cock-fighter, a brawler, a drunkard, and a murdered^r." Both parties "resorted to billingsgate of the most finished quality," and, when defeated, Adams slipped away before the inauguration of the man he despised.

William Lloyd Garrison and his fellow-abolitionists were subjected to extremes of abuse. A New York newspaper expressed the opinion, "Never was there more malevolence and unblushing wickedness avowed than by this Garrison. Indeed, he surpasses Robespierre and his associates." Meetings of abolitionists were called "dangerous assemblies - calculated for mischief, and treasonable in their character and purpose." A distinguished clergyman opened a debate with these words:

The Parties in this conflict are not merely abolitionists and slaveholders - they are atheists, socialists, communists, red republicans, jacobins, on the one side, and the friends of order and regulated freedom on the other. In one word, the world is the battle ground - Christianity and Atheism the combatants; and the progress of humanity the stake.

Space — This ~~same~~ procedure of labeling anti-slavery advocates with all the objectionable epithets then current was followed by the Honorable James Wilson, American Minister to Turkey. In one category he grouped ~~the~~ advocates of ~~free love~~, ~~and~~ the Socialists, the Infidels, the Red Republicans, and Abolitionists. Garrison was led through the streets of Boston, with a rope around his body, by a Boston mob, which included "many gentlemen of property and influence." Six Mississippians offered a reward of twenty thousand dollars for the head of Garrison. "There exists at this moment through the Southern States, an actual Reign of Terror," wrote a Northern editor.

27

Extremes of vituperation were heaped upon Abraham Lincoln.

In going through one of his biographies, I ran across the following expressions of contempt and enmity:

mean, sneaking, and disreputable; cringing, crawling creature; an ape and baboon; buffoon; monster, idiot; miserable and contemptible despot; extraordinary freak of nature; one of God's mistakes; a cross between a sand-hill crane and an Andulsian Jackass; the abolition orangutang that skulked in Washington; he will totter into a dishonorable grave, driven there perhaps by the hands of an assassin, leaving behind him a memory more execrable than that of Arnold - more despised than that of the traitor Cataline; old Abe Lincoln is an infernal Jackass; I should relish his groans and agonies if I could see him put to torture in hell or anywhere else.

← In an envelope in which Lincoln filed threats of assassination, there were eighty letters. And finally death came from an assassin's bullet in his head, fired from a distance of less than five feet.

2 A

sky was obscured by ^{blowing}

During the 1896 campaign, the ^{exclusive} air was crowded with ~~holding~~ invectives. Within the ~~inner~~ precincts ~~of aristocratic clubs and social~~ Eastern salons, and in circles of business men, the popularity of William Jennings Bryan produced consternation and panic. Theodore Roosevelt used the familiar device of lumping together people you dislike, and cried out:

↑ Messrs. Bryan, Altgeld, Tillman, Debs, Coxey and the rest, have not the power to rival the deeds of Marat, Barrere, and Robispiere, but they are strikingly like the leaders of the Terror of France in mental and moral attitude.

"Then their alarm turned to terror; Bryan became anti-American, even Antichrist, as terror was turned into hatred." A minister in Brooklyn went to this extreme:

I must be heard and will be heard against all dishonesty and anarchy and kindred evil. I love the blood-stained banner of the Cross and it is in danger. I must speak every Sunday from now on until November. I shall denounce the Chicago platform. That platform was made in Hell.

Advocates of woman suffrage were for half a century abused and villified. In 1871 an editor in Seattle thus described Susan B.

Anthony:

She is a revolutionist, aiming at nothing less than the breaking up of the very foundations of society, and the overthrow of every social institution organized for the protection of the sanctity of the altar, the family circle and the legitimacy of our offspring, recognizing no religion but self-worship, no God but human reason, no motive to action but lust... The whole plan is coarse, sensual and agrarian, the worst phase of French infidelity and communism.

space → Not only were these pioneers called vile names, they were mobbed, arrested and subject to indignities. In Albany the mayor the city agreed to protect them. He placed policemen in various parts of the hall, "then he laid a revolver across his knee, and there he sat during the morning, afternoon and evening sessions."

~~For a full century social legislation was resisted by means fair and foul. Advocates of legal curbs upon the rights of property owners and employers of labor were confronted with abuse, economic power and political corruption. In the prevailing atmosphere of laissez faire, to tar a movement with the brush of radicalism and communism was usually sufficient to defeat it. Ever since the French revolution, the epithets "Red" and "communist" had been pinned on advocates of social changes.~~

Men and women who urged legal abolition of child labor were assailed as dangerous radicals. On the floor of the Senate it was asserted that "every Bolshevik, every extreme communist and socialist in the United States is back of this measure... Of course, this is a communistic, Bolshevik scheme." Another Senator declared, "it assassinates democracy, and upon its grave establishes a hybrid monstrosity." In his argument before the Supreme Court, in opposing the income tax law, Joseph H. Choate said:

It is far more communistic in its purposes and tendencies. It is defended here upon principles as communistic, socialistic - what shall I call them - populistic as ever have been addressed to any political assembly in the world... This is a doctrine worthy of a Jacobin Club... it is worth of a Czar of Russia."

97 The accusation ^{was often made} must have been made a million times that labor leaders were dangerous radicals and wild Communists, ~~some~~ some of them undoubtedly were, but little effort was made to distinguish between violent anarchists and revolutionary Communists, on the one hand, and conservative labor leaders and middle-class supporters of the labor movement, on the other. ~~Smearing was an effective practice, and unlimited gallons of red paint were used.~~ At the turn of the century, the president of the National Association ~~Association~~ of Manufacturers cried out:

Organized labor knows but one law and that the law of physical force - the law of the Huns and Vandals, the law of the savage. It is, in all essential features, a mob power knowing no master except its own will. Its history is stained with blood and ruin.

Another president of this employers' group exclaimed, "The greatest danger lies in the recognition of the union." Believing this, organized business fought ruthlessly to ~~prevent~~ destroy organized labor. Smearing was an effective practice, and ^{many} ~~unlimited~~ gallons of red paint were used.

For a full century social legislation was resisted by means fair and foul. Advocates of legal curbs upon the rights of property owners and employers of labor were confronted with personal abuse, ← economic power and political corruption. In the prevailing atmosphere of laissez faire, to tar a movement with the brush of radicalism and communism was usually sufficient to defeat it. Every since the French revolution, the epithets "red" and "communist" have been pinned on advocates of social change. ~~With undeviating regularity~~

2

In the nineteen twenties the Ku Klux Klan was reorganized, and soon spread like fire on a dry prairie, not only in the South ^{but in} the Middle West ^{and} to the Pacific ~~coast~~ coast. A competent investigator estimated that its membership reached more than four millions. The Klan appointed itself as the protector of the white race from "mongrelizing" with Negro blood; it posed as the savior of Gentiles from Jews; it came to the rescue of Protestants against Catholic conspiracies; it stood firmly behind native born Americans against the corrupting forces of immigration; it was on the side of the righteous against the wicked, and sought to enforce its own code of morality. The Klan ^{methods included} ~~operated by~~ the use of anonymous intimidation through fiery crosses and ~~threat~~ warnings, ~~by~~ whippings and lashings and beatings, ~~by~~ murder and lynchings. Here was an invisible empire which often terrorized agents of law enforcement into shameful inaction. I have personal recollections of the power wielded by the Klan in local churches. Its growth ~~and influence~~ ^{was attributed} affords another illustration of the ease ^{with} which sections of the American people have fallen into sheer lawlessness ^{and vicious cruelty} in ~~their~~ endeavor to impose their will upon other groups of their fellowmen.

^ an

3 A ✓

Theodore Roosevelt once opposed a bill in the New York legislature to forbid street-car employees from working more than twelve hours a day, on the ground that the proposal was "purely socialistic." His biographer says, "He opposed the measure on principle. It demonstrated the spread of communistic ideas.. It was un-American for the street-car conductors and motormen to demand such protection; no men who asked to be coddled by law were worthy of their sex."

97 with undeviating regularity,

charges of radicalism, socialism and communism have been hurled at supporters of ~~legislation~~^{laws,} workmen's compensation, pure food laws, housing regulations, Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Trade Commission, ~~Federal Reserve System~~^{al}, Post Savings Banks, Parcels Post, Social Security, ~~Ten thousand statements such as these could be assembled:~~

The proposal is socialistic in its origin, philosophy and associations... The vice of all these special prohibitions is that they interfere with, break up, the fundamental principles of American freedom... the work of the agitator pure and simple... little less than treason... As a nation, we have no greater peril to fear than the constant interference of agents of Government in our daily affairs... action that could be defined only as sheer socialism... radical and revolutionary in their character... The creation of this board is clearly a favorable response to socialistic demands... communistically becoming their competitor... It is socialistic and contrary to the spirit of our institutions... If we do, we are going into socialism, paternalistic, socialistic legislation... we demand that the barbaric inheritance tax law be abolished or rewritten with an American pen instead of one borrowed from Moscow... This duty we dare not shirk unless we are willing that our descendants shall see the gloomy despotism of Moscow settle over the republic of Lincoln, Jefferson and Washington... The capitalist system has never yet been improved by the sewing into it of any patches of red bunting.

II

Following the First World War, a wave of hysteria swept across the United States. The Russian revolution, with its red terror and disregard of property rights, had created consternation in the minds of many Americans. Bolshevism was spreading in Europe, and Bolshevism might come to this country. A week after the Armistice, Mayor Hylan of New York forbade the display of the red flag in the streets and ordered the police to "disperse all unlawful assemblages." Under the drastic wartime Sedition Act, Attorney General Palmer began rounding up the alien membership of the Communist Party, in ~~wholesale~~ indiscriminate raids, and ~~in which over~~ ^{arrests.} six thousand individuals were arrested. A cloud of suspicion settled on the public mind, and intolerance became the essence of "Americanism. Self-appointed vigilantes began breaking up meetings with they suspected were treasonable. One of the victims of such a riot in New York was a conservative stock-broker, ^{out for a walk,} who inquired what it was all about. A sailor cried out, "Hey, fellows, here's another Bolshevik," and quickly a crowd pounced upon him and beat him severely. Any editor or teacher or clergyman ^{in any state} who expressed ~~any~~ ^{against the tyranny of the Czar,} sympathy for the suppressed masses of Russia, who had revolted in savage acts of terror ran the risk of losing his position, if he escaped violence at the hands of impassioned patriots. In the words of a historian:

~~Following the First World War, a wave of hysteria swept across the United States. In the words of a historian:~~

It was an era of lawless and disorderly defense of law and order, of unconstitutional defense of the Constitution, of suspicion and civil conflict - in a very literal sense, a reign of terror... The public was jumpy and would condemn any cause on which the Bolshevik label could be pinned... Innumerable gentlemen now discovered that they could defeat whatever they wanted to defeat by tarring it conspicuously with the Bolshevik brush... upholders of every sort of cause, good, bad, and indifferent, all wrapped themselves in Old Glory... There was hardly a liberal civic organization in the land at which these protectors of the nation did not bid the citizenry to shudder.

In 1934 Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling codified a mass of charges against many American citizens which had been going the rounds in bulletins and mimeographed sheets from organizations which had taken upon themselves responsibility for exposing ~~the dangerous organizations which were the cause of~~ "un-American attitudes and activities." The Red Network was announced as A Who's Who and Handbook of Radicalism for Patriots. This "exposure" lumps together liberals, progressives, and Communists, Socialists, pacifists, New Dealers, as enemies of Americanism. "Pro-Red" Among the "dangerous" organizations listed are Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, American Association for Advancement of Atheism, American Association for Labor Legislation, American Civil Liberties Union, American Federation of Labor, American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), Bahai International, Catholic Association For International Peace, Church League For Industrial Democracy, Committee on Militarism in Education, Committee Communist Headquarters, for Norman Thomas, The Communist International, Congregational Educational Society, Cooperative League of U. S. A., Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Ford Peace Party, League For Industrial Democracy, League of Women Voters, National Association For Advancement of Colored People, National Catholic Welfare Conference, National Women's Trade Union League, Public Ownership League, Socialist Party, Union Theological Seminary, War Resisters International, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Young Communist League, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A.

Henry Sloane Coffin,

In compiling a list of subversive individuals and unwitting dupes of communism, no distinction was drawn between membership in the Communist Party and an official relationship to the Federal Council of Churches. ^{hundred} ~~networks of Reds~~ Among the thirteen individuals listed as having "contributed in some measure to one or more phases of the Red movement in the United States" are:

- Jane Addams, Newton D. Baker, Charles A. Beard, Wm. E. Borah, ^{John C. Bennett, Wm. Russell Bowie,}
- Earl R. Browder ^{Whittaker Chambers, Stuart Chase}
- S. Parkes Cadman, S. M. Cavert, Clarence Darrow, John Dewey, ^{Paul}
- ^{Sherwood Eddy,} H. Douglas, Albert Einstein, E. A. Filene, Harry Emerson Fosdick, ^{Emmre Goldman}
- Felix Frankfurter, Mahatma Gandhi, Stanley High, Sidney Hillman, ^{allan A. Hunter,}
- John Haynes Holmes, Lynn Harold Hough, Manley O. Hudson, Robert
- Maynard Hutchins, Paul Hutchinson, Harold L. Ickes, Phil LaFollette, ^{Nicolai Lenin,}
- Robert M. LaFollette Jr., Fiorella LaGuardia, Henry N. MacCracken, ^{Karl Marx, Thomas Mooney}
- Louis L. Mann, Francis J. McConnell, Arthur E. Morgan, Charles Clayton ^{Richard N., Harry A. Overstreet, G. Bromley Oxnam,}
- Morrison, W. A. Neilson, Reinhold Niebuhr, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, ^{Abba Hikel Silver,}
- William Scarlett, John A. Ryan, James T. Shotwell, Leopold Stowkowski, ^{Rabindra nath Tagore, Leon Trotsky, Lillian Wald}
- Norman Thomas, Ernest F. Tittle, Luther A. Weigle, William Allen
- White, Stephen S. Wise, Mary E. Wooley,

~~The quality of the editor's mind is revealed in her comment about "Gandhi's Moscow-financed agitations in India... directly inspired by Communist Indian agents. "Leader of the Nationalist movement, subsidized by Moscow as a first step in freeing India from England in order to Sovietize it."~~

Thus it is evident that the editor of this list of "subversives" intended to give the impression that knowingly or unwittingly all these individuals were ^{bracketed} ~~directly or indirectly serving~~ the Red movement. Indiscriminately she ^{put} ~~lumped~~ together ^{many} ~~these~~ Karl Marx, Nicolai ^{Leon Trotsky} Lenin, Earl Browder and Harry Emerson Fosdick, Jane Addams, Albert Einstein, Mahatma Gandhi. For twenty years the Red Net Work has been "the Bible" of organization s and individuals seeking to discredit liberals and pacifists by labeling them communistic.

And since my name appeared in it, and on ^{many} other lists of "subversives", my work [↑] ~~was~~ ^{been} seriously handicapped.

a Network of Reds.

5 A

The tendency to identify liberalism with communism reached a high peak in public attacks upon Franklin Delano Roosevelt. On that day when ^{Herbert}~~President~~ Hoover rode along Pennsylvania Avenue with the President-elect to the inauguration, "the huge mechanism of American finance had almost ceased to function," and soon all banks were to be closed. For a moment the nation turned to President Roosevelt as national savior. Long before the end of his first term, the tide turned and he was viciously assaulted as a dangerous radical. In three successive national campaigns, the President and the New Deal ^{were}~~was~~ attacked as communistic and destructive of all that [^]~~had~~ made America great. At this distance it is difficult to realize how intensely millions of conservative people really believed that F. D. R. was in league with Moscow, and was leading our democracy straight toward Communist dictatorship. If we take at full value the extreme charges of his political opponents, the conclusion is inescapable that four times the American electorate chose a Communist for President and voted for ^{an advanced}~~such~~ Communist program. [^]

9

high point

This trend reached its ~~peak~~ ^{high point} in the activities of Senator McCarthy, when he declared in a Wheeling radio address, "I have here in my hand a list of 205 - a list of names that were known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy in the State Department." In Salt Lake City he charged that there were "57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party" in the State Department. The excesses of Senator McCarthy led to his downfall. Millions of viewers can never forget the dramatic moment when Joseph Welch turned to the reckless accuser, "Let us not assassinate this lad further, Senator. You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?"

~~The flames of the red scare flared high in 1919, flickered up and down intermittently, illuminated the heavens in the early fifties, but they have never died out.~~ All my public work ^{has been} done in this glare, and so it was to be expected that I would be ^{objectionable} called many ~~odious~~ names. Few individuals escaped as they challenged the status quo of individualism and nationalism. I ^{internationalism,} was vulnerable because of my pacifism, socialism, convictions about racial equality, and liberal ^{my} ~~characteristics~~ ^{my} ~~theology~~ — and because I spoke and wrote so incessantly.

~~in this country, in the early days of the French Revolution, at the time of the upsurge under Andrew Jackson, with the rise of the woman suffrage movement,~~ of the West

The flames of the Red scare flared high in this country in the days of the French Revolution, at the time of the upsurge of the frontier under Andrew Jackson, during the years when abolitionism threatened slavery, with the rise of the woman suffrage movement, following the First World War, and the ~~Red hysteria~~ ^{blaze of} the Red hysteria illuminated the heavens during the early nineteen fifties - intermittently, the fires of intolerance have burned high and burned low, but they have never gone out.

*Many times**III*

in this country - in

^ The flames of the Red scare have flared high ~~in this country~~ ^
 the days of the French revolution; at the time of the upsurge of the
 frontier under Andrew Jackson; during the years when abolitionism
 threatened slavery; with the rise of the woman suffrage movement;
 when efforts were made to enact social legislation;
~~and~~ following the First World War; Intermittently the fires of
 intolerance have burned high and burned low, but they have never gone
 early out. And during the nineteen fifties the blaze of the Red hysteria
 illuminated the heavens. All my public work has been done in this
 glare, and so it was to be expected that I would be called many
 objectionable names and be subjected to much opposition. Few indi-
 viduals escaped as they challenged the status quo of individualism
 and nationalism. I was vulnerable because of my pacifism, inter-
 nationalism, socialism, my convictions about racial equality, ~~and~~
 my liberal theology - and because I spoke and wrote incessantly.

when The Ku Klux Klan inaugurated a reign of terror;
 and in the era of the New Deal.

To be followed by

H P experience

8 "Church and C. etc"

← The booklet, which bore the title, CHURCH AND COLLEGE DENOUNCE
PACIFIST PLEDGE,

forty-~~two~~ three

carried comments from ~~the following~~ Bishops, twenty-

eight college presidents, and fifteen other individuals. Only eight

replies were favorable to my point of view. Here are some comments:

The pledge is constructive treason. Its only redeeming quality is its transparent absurdity... The 'pledge' you quote from the book by Mr. Kirby Page is un-American, disloyal, and if taken seriously places every one who takes it in opposition to the Constitution... I think that such a resolution as the one which you have sent me, taken from Kirby Page's book, is absolutely indefensible on the part of sane students of history and of world conditions... No pacifistical camouflage for William A. Quayle... I think we are in danger just now of doing a good cause infinite harm by taking a too radical attitude... American Catholics will never accept the pledge you quote. They will ever stand by the final decision of our Government, whether it be for or against war... I am not prepared to come out in open rebellion against our Government, which, as I see it, is the logical conclusion of Mr. Page's pledge... Such a resolution evidently emanated from the enemies of this government and from the real enemies of peace and progress. A man who will not fight when he has to is unfit and unworthy to receive the benefits of peace... entirely futile and foolish... War is dreadful, but there are even worse things than war - among them, cowardice and dishonor... The quotation from Kirby Page is seditious and traitorous. ~~the statement seems to me to be extraordinarily dull-minded and wrong-headed.~~

9

and exhilarating came as a

One of my most unpleasant experiences ~~was~~ the result of an offer by Baylor University to confer on me an honorary degree, Doctor of Literature, ~~and~~ ^{with} an invitation to deliver the Commencement Address there. When ^{the announcement that I was to speak was made,} ~~this word was made public,~~ a campaign of abuse and vituperation was launched. Most active was ^{the} Reverend J. Frank Norris, prominent Baptist minister, and editor of The Fundamentalist of Texas. Across the entire front page of his paper, in orange colored ink, he announced, INTERNATIONAL RED COMMUNIST AND ATHEIST TO DELIVER COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT BAYLOR UNIVERSITY. In a subsequent issue, the week before Commencement day, his paper carried three lines across the front page, this time in red ink, "ADVOCATES THE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE" "I AM PASTOR OF THE COLORED RADICAL CHURCH AND OFFICE SECRETARY OF 'THE WORLD TOMORROW' OF WHICH MR. KIRBY PAGE IS EDITOR." Filling half of the front page was a photograph of the Reverend Eth^ered Brown, who handled telephone calls and did office work at The World Tomorrow. Mr. Brown is a Negro. More than two pages ^{were} ~~and~~ devoted to an attack upon me. Here are excerpts:

↑ The whole country is stirred over Baylor University, having
↑ Kirby Page, Editor of "The World Tomorrow," which is the official
↑ mouthpiece of the Communist organization in America - to deliver the Commencement Address next Wednesday, June 1st (1932)... he was black-listed by his own denomination more than a dozen years ago, and is not permitted to hold a pastorate or any official position in the denomination... He carries his communism into practical application by repeatedly advocating social equality with the negroes... Nor is this all. He toured this country, spoke in various places under the auspices of the 4 A's - Association for the Advancement of Atheism in America - and was in company with the secretary of the 4's, one R. E. Bryant, and was on the pay roll of the 4 A's... If this engagement is allowed to stand all these facts will be distributed in Waco Tuesday night, before Kirby Page speaks, together with the photograph of his negro secretary.

Dr. Norris carried out his intention, and ~~devoted~~ devoted an entire address to an attack upon me, before a huge mass meeting in Waco.

When Alma and I arrived next morning, the student body was seething with indignation against ~~the~~ the tactics of Dr. Norris. The result was ~~one of the most~~ sympathetic hearings ~~I~~ I have ever received. The Board of Trustees had ~~refused to grant me~~ ^{refused to grant me} an honorary degree. I presented ~~the three hundred~~ ^{the three hundred} members of the graduating class with ~~4~~ mimeographed copies of my address, and sent to them ~~a copy of~~ ^{copies of my book} Living Creatively. My heart was warmed by an appreciative letter from Dr. Allen, in which he was kind enough to write, "I have attended many commencements but never before have I known of a commencement speaker receiving such an ovation as you received at the close of your address." The title of my address was, "Religion and Social Progress," and my concluding words were:

To the members of the graduating class, let me say this special word. You are going out into a swiftly moving stream. Change is everywhere apparent, and is highly desirable. Yet the same old forces of blindness and bigotry, greed and fear are bitterly resisting the transformation of our civilization into a society which more nearly approximates the Kingdom of God on earth. Desperately you will need three qualities if you are to become deliverers of your fellowmen: an eager desire to discover the truth about the complex and dangerous problems of the hour; courage to follow the light when you find it; spiritual power to triumph over the forces of darkness and intolerance, greed and fear.

The religion is Jesus is practicable ~~today~~ for us today if we will fulfill the conditions he fulfilled in his day: undertake a supreme task in behalf of God and humanity, the doing of which is more important than the safeguarding of one's own life; spend time regularly in silent meditation and intercession and communion with the Eternal; cultivate friendship and fellowship with a group of intimates and with the great ones of the ages; consciously and steadfastly pursue beauty; dedicate self unreservedly to the way of sacrificial goodwill and follow the gleam at all costs. If we will do these faithfully and persistently, we will progressively be filled with the wisdom and love and power which enabled Jesus to walk the way of the Cross and to become the Deliverer of Mankind.

The charge that I had been employed by the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism grew in detail as it was passed from person to person. In one of my meetings a sheet was handed out in which the amount was specified, ^{"he was"} paid \$4,500 a year to tour and speak. For this unspeakably vile organization Kirby Page spoke and advocated the views upheld by ~~them~~ them. Will Kirby Page desecrate the altar of Baylor University?"

For more than three decades, the ^{accusation} ~~charge~~ has been made repeatedly that I ^{am} ~~was~~ receiving my salary from Moscow. The Literary Digest picked up such a charge ~~made~~ made at the Milwaukee convention of students, and quoted an army colonel as saying that my salary came "straight from Moscow." From this national periodical, the allegation went unverified across the country, and hounded me for many years.

Perhaps most frequently of all, it has been said that I am being paid by the Garland Fund. More than twenty-five years ago, I wrote to a friend in Rochester:

With regard to the Garland Fund: Garland himself was an eccentric individual who inherited a large fortune. He at first rejected it entirely but later consented to take it and devote it to liberal and radical causes. On the Board of Directors of the Garland Fund are many radicals and a few Communists... Prior to the time when I became editor of The World Tomorrow in 1926, i. e., in 1924-25, the Garland Fund contributed toward the deficit of The World Tomorrow, but even before I became editor they had refused to renew their contribution. During my regime we have not had a cent from the Garland Fund. The kind of talk you friend, the Major indulged in is going on throughout the whole country. One of the ways to avoid the necessity of meeting the arguments of pacifists is to label them "dangerous characters." Repeatedly the statement has been made that I myself am getting my salary straight from Moscow.

over
~~This tale also has grown in telling.~~ Often I have been charged with being treasurer of the Garland Fund, and frequently the accusation has been made that I am collecting money for it. ^{over} ~~moreover~~ ^{It was falsely said} that the

~~major in the war~~ cost of sending out The World Tomorrow questionnaires

accusation
An ~~advertisement~~ frequently printed has been that I raised money
for the Garland Fund, to be sent to Communists in China. The fact is
that, in reply to a cablegram from Paul Blanshard and Harry F. Ward,
~~we~~^{an}, we ran advertisement in The World Tomorrow, inviting our
readers to help raise a fund for two hundred thousand Chinese workers out
All 9 for \$3.00 All 9 for \$3.00

Kirby Page's Publications

Kirby Page, Box 247, La Habra, California.

Please send postpaid the following. I am enclosing \$_____ in full payment - thus saving bookkeeping.

- _____ Copies of "Power From the Bible." Just off the press. Selected devotional readings from the Bible, without comment, for private use, family worship, prayer groups, the sick and the confined. 32 pages, attractive paper cover. 25¢ each. --- \$ _____
- _____ Copies of "How to Find the Will of God". Written in collaboration with representatives of ten religious denominations, 80 pages, paper cover, 50¢ each. ----- \$ _____
- _____ Copies of "Living Joyously", 365 daily readings, 380 pages, cloth binding, only \$1.00. IDEAL CHRISTMAS GIFT. ----- \$ _____
- _____ Copies of "How to Pray", Attractive paper cover, 50¢ each. +----- \$ _____
- _____ Copies of "Living with Peace of Mind". 1953 series, paper cover. 50¢ each. +--- \$ _____
- _____ Copies of "The Light is Still Shining in the Darkness". 32 complete services of worship for devotional meetings, 124 pages, 25¢ each. ----- \$ _____
- _____ Copies of "Blessed are the Meek", 32 pages, 10¢ each. +----- \$ _____
- _____ Copies of "The Creative Revolution of Jesus", full length book in large format, paper cover, 50¢ each. +----- \$ _____
- _____ Sets of 28 prayer cards, 25¢ per set. ----- \$ _____
- _____ Packets of all 9 items above, \$3.00 per packet. +----- \$ _____
- TOTAL AMOUNT ENCLOSED ----- \$ _____

Ship to:

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STREET ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

out on strike in Shanghai, and to send checks to Morris L. Ernst, an honored attorney of the American Civil Liberties Union, who was at that time also Treasurer of the ~~Second Fund~~, to be transmitted "to the local committee on strike relief in Shanghai."

Garland Fund,

(X)

Word spread from the University of West Virginia to Dartmouth College. Upon hearing that I was being invited to Hanover, a student ^{report} there passed on the ~~change~~ ^{Morgan town} that my meetings at ~~West Virginia~~ had been cancelled because "it was clearly shown that I was in the employ and pay of the Soviet government." It is true that my program was cancelled, and that I spoke off campus ^{at another meeting.} ~~in a crowded house.~~ Years later a man came ^{up} ~~to me at the end of a meeting~~ and introduced himself as an officer in the as the individual who ~~at~~ R. O. T. C. ~~office~~ at West Virginia, ~~and~~ ^{He told me that,} had been assigned the responsibility of taking down my address. ^{and he unobserved,} ~~In~~ order to hear clearly, [^] he had crouched down in a telephone booth ~~on~~ ^{near} the platform!

12

was ~~also~~ paid by Communists. I have received abusive and insulting letters asking sneeringly about the sources of my personal income. At public meetings the ^{accusation} ~~charge~~ has been made that I am on the Communist payroll. A large number of times I have been informed by friends that they were unable to arrange meetings for me because their committees were unwilling to invite "a paid Communist." More times than I like to remember friends ^{some of} have told me that their members ^{were} were staying away from my meetings because they did not want to "get mixed up with Communists."

Soon after I began my independent work, I had to get accustomed to having a meeting cancelled, under pressure from individuals and organizations, on the ground that I was un-American and subversive. Some of these cancellations brought wide publicity, and deepened the opinion of many that it would only stir up trouble if I were invited to speak. And, unfortunately, this has sometimes proved to be true. In a hundred instances that could be named, friends who arranged meetings for me have been subjected to ^{abusive} attacks in the press, ~~nevertheless~~, have been reprimanded by their own officials, and in ~~several~~ a few cases have lost their positions. ~~Because "I got my hands burned once,"~~ some of these individuals have withdrawn from the social struggle.

Scores of times at meetings someone has handed me a folder, in which my alleged record was given; ~~On~~ on the cover in red ink was the Communist ensignia, hammer and ~~scythe~~ ~~scythe~~ and in bold letters, How Red is the Federal Council ~~of~~ of Churches? Inside was the assertion that "a large number of clergy affiliated with the Federal Council repeatedly preach that Communism is an advanced form of democracy; that it is the desirable next step ~~in~~ in the forward progress of society... that Russia is the land where all social and economic problems have been solved, where inequality, poverty and ~~want~~ have been abolished... Moreover, it must be remembered that fellow travelers are more dangerous to America than outright Communists." Forty-nine clergymen were listed, with their alleged records, including ^{seven} ~~the~~ Bishops of the Episcopal - ~~Charles K. Gilbert, I. O. Hartman, Dean Lee Holt,~~ and Methodist churches, President John Mackay of Princeton Theological Seminary, President Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary, Dean Luther A. Weigle of Yale University Divinity School, E. Stanley Jones, Reinhold Niebuhr, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Harold E. Fey, George A. Buttrick. This attack was sent out by the American Council of Christian laymen, with a Chicago address, but ~~with no intention of~~ ~~without giving the names of individuals responsible~~ without giving the names of individuals responsible for distributing ~~the folder~~ ^{it}.

After speaking in northern New York, a local newspaper printed in nearly two columns a resolution passed by the local post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which included these words: "We denounce as un-American, unpatriotic, communistic and destructively pacifist the utterances of Kirby Page... and censure the membership of the Gloversville Council for International Peace, the Superintendent of Schools, the Kiwanis and City Clubs, YMCA, YWCA, and the representative ministers and churches of Gloverville, New York ... for spreading his seditious and un-American propaganda in this city."

Francis J. McConnell, D. B. Ornam,
Edward L. Parsons, William Seabett -

In 1935 a note in The Christian Century read: "Kirby Page's addresses at the 10-day conference of the southwestern Student Christian movement in Hollister, Missouri, aroused the ire of William A. Kitchen, state commander of the American Legion, who made speeches over the entire state charging that Page is a communist, and insinuating that he is paid from Moscow." The student paper at New York University printed an attack by Colonel R. R. Bush, national secretary of the Scabbard and Blade, ^{naming three or four of us, and} including the words... "the teachers of such a creed are nothing more than slimy vermin, attacking their country in its 'Achilles Heel.' A drinking, carousing element of Godless modernists ~~many instances~~ ~~believing in and openly practicing~~ believing in openly practicing in many instances, free love." ↑

* From my files, hundreds of comments similar to these ~~examples~~ may be selected: "He is a pink tea Communist of the Russian variety. I have no use for this soft soap pacifism... such men are anti-Christian and anti-American... He might be asked to repeat the Slacker Oath, of which he is the author, for benefit of the disabled overseas veterans who may be present. Ask him who financed his trip to Russia and why he did not choose to stay in that country. Ask him as member of the Garland Fund why the organization is known as the Free Love Fund... ^{Gerald} A telegram from ~~Gerald~~ Winroad read at a meeting in McAllen, Texas, asserting that Kirby Page is communistic... he requires his pay in advance and it varies from one hundred dollars up an engagement; and he takes not less than five or six engagements in a community of any size at all... ^{And from an old Drake friend:} "I don't dare offer anything for sale here with your name on it. Controversy is especially hot now."

Just as I was about to begin an address at Sioux City, two men rushed down the aisle, handing out mimeographed attack upon me.

→ over then *

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on four occasions
of series 4/19/54
~~For four successive weeks~~ at Fort Worth, mimeographed attacks upon me were handed out at my meetings by a local minister, who came early, ~~there~~ walked up and down the sidewalk, as his phonograph invited attention by loud playing, ~~came~~ with his supporters into the meetings, and in the question periods made oral attacks upon me, as subversive and communistic, *with subsequent newspaper publicity.*

Some of the numerous accusations against me have reverberated around the earth; and once in the British consulate at Hongkong the official who stamped my passport, inquired genially, "Are you still a Communist?" ^{on one occasion,} ~~once~~ when my passport was included in a number sent to the British Consulate in New York for a route ⁱⁿ vise, word came that I must apply in person. After questioning me, the official said bluntly:

"We just wanted to let you know that we are keeping our eyes on ~~you~~ you."

once when I landed

~~Upon landing~~ at Southampton, ~~on one occasion,~~ a British official asked about my alleged communism, and I replied, "My pacifism and ^{have much in common with} socialism ~~are somewhat similar to~~ the point of view of the Honorable J. Ramsay MacDonald, your Prime Minister." At various times, in different sections of the United States, friends have made jocular inquiry:

"What ~~about~~ have you done? An F. B. I. agent was around here asking about you."

In explaining the causes of my pacifism, an army officer once told an R. O. T. C. class, "The trouble with Kirby Page is ^{he has had} adenoids and ~~bad~~ tonsils," which may have been sound diagnosis, except for this possibility of error - ^{my} ~~his~~ adenoids and tonsils had previously been removed.

To which I replied, "Never have been one, I can't say that I am."

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For thou, O Lord, hast made
Me glad by thy work; at the
Works of thy hand I sing
For joy! If I darted swift
To the dawn, to the verge
Of ocean afar, thy hand
Even there would fall on me.
Thy thoughts are very deep;
Search me, O God, and know
My heart, test me and try
My thoughts; see if I am
Taking a wrong course, and
Do thou lead me on the lines
Of life eternal! So teach
^{me} ~~me~~ to number ^{my} ~~our~~ days that
That ~~we~~ ^I may obtain an understanding

Understanding heart. ^{me} Let thy
~~thy~~ Love dawn on ^{me} ~~us~~ undimmed,
That all ^{my} ~~our~~ life ^I ~~and~~ may be
Glad and sing. Oh send out
Thy light and thy truth, let
Them lead me, let them bring
Me to thy holy hill and to
Thy dwelling! Create in me
A clean heart, O God, and
Put a new and right spirit

^{Life} With me. And this is ~~life~~
Eternal, that they know thee,
The only real God, ^{and him}

^{and him}
Whom thou hast sent, even
Jesus Christ. For God so
Loved the world that he
Gave his only Son, that
Whoever believes in ~~him~~
Should not perish but have
Eternal life. Then I saw
A new heaven and a new
Earth, the new Jerusalem,
The holy city, coming down
Out of heaven from God. ~~So~~
~~hope,~~
~~Faith,~~ ~~and~~ ~~love~~
~~Abiding these three; but~~
~~The greatest of these is~~
~~love~~

Thanks be to God Who leads
Us, wherever we are, on
His triumphant way and makes
our knowledge of Him to
Spread through the world
Like a lovely perfume.

How rare it is, how lovely,
This fellowship of those
Who meet together! - sweet
As the sacred oil pour on
The head, that flows down
Aaron's beard; vital as dew
Of Hermon, that falls on
The hills of Zion. For
In this fellowship has
The Eternal fixed the
Blessing of an endless life.

N

friendly

We published in The World Tomorrow a ~~long~~ letter from Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of The Christian Century, in which he objected to something I had written about his attitude toward pacifism in class war, which seemed to me to leave open the question of using violence in ^a day of social revolution. In reply, Dr. Morrison wrote:

Mr. Page

Because ~~he~~ ^{ed} sees no difference between the so-call class war and international war, he is not justified in misrepresenting the position on international war of one who ~~does not~~ ^{does} see - or thinks he sees - a possible difference... Mr. Page knows this is the Christian Century's position, for he quotes from a later editorial in which this position is made explicit as it can be ^{ed} sated: "We are unable to subscribe to the dogma that the use of force is always wrong, yet we are opposed to any conceivable form of international war" (italics his). Mr. Page has in his possession my personal answer to the questionnaire now being circulated among ministers of the country, in which I take the precise position on international war which he takes. Indeed, I am one of his converts! And my conversion immediately brought forth fruits worthy of repentance when I assumed responsibility for getting his book, The Sword or the Cross, published at a time when publishers were afraid to put out a book of that sort.

as

I also am unable ~~to~~ "to subscribe to the ~~dogma~~ dogma that the use of force is always wrong," but wanted to go on record again as affirming my pacifism in class war, as well as in international war.

revolution.

burden of a great war would expose Japan to the peril of social

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Chapter 8

FAMILY EXPERIENCES

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Visiting in the home of Arthur and Ivy Elliott, and talking over experiences when he and I were roommates at Drake.

On a neighboring hilltop, visting with Francis and Laird - preparing for the offset printer the and our gratitude to him for ~~gitting~~ the manuscript of my annual series, Living With Peace of Mind, ~~for the offset printer~~

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Chapter 8

FAMILY EXPERIENCES

large
A map of the United States, spread before me, sends my mind
whirling in all directions, and brings *pleasant memories* *family* ~~recollections~~ of *household*
doings. Alma and I were born in Texas, Kirby Junior ~~was born~~ first opened his eyes
earliest *We*
Chicago, and Mary's ~~first~~ home was in Houston. ~~Thereafter we have~~
resided ~~lived~~ *lived* in ~~Texas, Illinois, New York, New Jersey, and California.~~ *Iowa,*
Vacations *memorable holiday*
~~we~~ spent five summers in North Carolina, and a ~~year~~ *year* in
Colorado. Kay attended preparatory school in Arizona, while Mary
spent the four years near Poughkeepsie, ~~Since 1934 our home has been~~
in California. ~~My daughter-in-law attended Redlands, and my~~
~~son-in-law~~ Both son and daughter married Redlands graduates, then
Walt and Mary spent three years in New Haven. All eight grandchildren
are natives of ~~the Golden State.~~ the Golden State. Alma has driven our
more
car in all the states / (except Maine), ~~New Hampshire and Vermont,~~ *and*
than a half million miles, across all the main highways of the nation -
on roads ~~some~~ were
and some that ~~were~~ barely passable. So a map throbs with life,
enjoyable
and speaks to us of countless happy experiences, some not so ~~pleasant,~~
and a few that were veritable ordeals.

While my ~~Antislavery~~ headquarters were in New York, we had across the ~~state~~ Hudson in homes in Brooklyn, Hasbrouck Heights, New Jersey, Palisades Park, Yonkers, on 110th Street, on 116th Street, and in Sunnyside, Long Island. During these years I was away ^{Sometimes} ~~for~~ for weeks at a time, on long speaking tours across the country. ~~While at home,~~ ~~and during~~ many hours were spent in The New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. ^{For a} ~~For three years~~ Kay and Mary rode the ~~subway~~ elevated and the subway from Sunnyside to Lincoln School, ^{changed to} ~~and for a year they had to go only a short distance~~ where they were subjected to progressive education, Occasional trips were taken to Coney Island, the showplaces of the city, the Bronx famous zoo, the museums, the Metropolitan Art Gallery, movies and plays on Broadway.

My office was with Sherwood, first at 124 East 28th Street, and then at Madison Avenue and 45th Street. The headquarters of the national Y. M. C. A. were located in these buildings, and I was thrown into constant and intimate touch with the leaders of the movement, in this country and from abroad. Sherwood provided me with a competent secretary who did most of my ~~office~~ office work, and copied manuscripts for me. ^{Especially deep} ~~indebtedness~~ ^{is my debt} to Barbara Parker and Jessica Moreland. Much time was spent in The New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. This is one of the best libraries in the world, and in the reference rooms where I worked, almost any book was available within a few minutes. For special purposes I was able to obtain ^{access to} ~~the~~ a small room where I used my typewriter. In seventeen years, thousands of pleasant and creative hours were spent in this ^{stimulating context} ~~building~~ ^{Catalogs} ~~books~~ were more easily ~~and~~ ^{quickly} searched, and desired volumes were delivered to your desk more rapidly than in the British Museum Library - but I missed the pungent, leathery ^{smell} ~~of the~~ ^{London} ~~British~~ depository. Many times in these institutions, I have been thrilled and awed by the realization that within a few feet

to the school.

of where I was sitting, ^{many} ~~many~~ great figures ^{of} ~~the~~ Anglo-Saxon literature had worked, at one time or another. ~~Occasionally~~ ^{Occasionally} I consulted volumes in the Congressional Library in Washington.

All this meant that ~~my time with my family~~ ^{was severely limited} was I came home completely exhausted. This made more serious because often ~~from~~ ^{be of} from a long trip ~~and~~ ^{afford much} and was too tired to ~~afford~~ much help or companionship.

The heavy burden of caring for the home and bringing up the children fell upon Alma's shoulders. One of the deep regrets of my life is that I saw so little of Kay and Mary during the years when they most needed the comradeship of a father. Then for four years, they were away at school, and we were with them just for the summers, with intermittent and treasured days when Mary ^{came down from Oakland,} ~~came home~~ and infrequent visits ^{to Kay near Tucson.}

The situation was made worse because New York City was not a favorable place in terms of family health. Alma had suffered from severe migraine headaches from girlhood, and these became more frequent and painful under the noise and strain of life in the city. Kay suffered from frequent colds and bronchial trouble. ^{was afflicted with} I ~~suffered~~

~~from~~ chronic hayfever during the months of ragweed. ^{had to be operated upon} Mary ~~had to~~ ^{have an operation} for appendicitis, at the beginning of what was to

have been a month's vacation. We had bought a second-hand ~~car~~ ^{Cherry} and had planned to drive about leisurely. The cost of the operation used upon the money we had saved for ~~the~~ short trips, so we stayed ^{nearby.}

^{happening} ~~close by.~~ This enforced stay at home brought forth a momentous ^{event} - I began washing supper dishes, after fourteen years of married life. Out of this experience grew a habit which has gripped me until this day, much to the satisfaction of my family.

For five ^{years,} ~~summers,~~ during the period when the children were away at school, we spent ^{most of} the summer together in a cabin at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, about a mile through the woods from Lee Hall, seat

once an infection locked my teeth for
a week, and my nourishment was
taken through a straw.

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A

Kay smuggled a box of snakes and a Gila monster on the bus from Tucson and brought them to our cabin. Many an afternoon Alma sat on the front porch reading, with a snake around each wrist and ^{a snake} ~~one~~ about her ~~neck~~ ~~wrist~~ neck - non-poisonous ones, of course. Kay challenged boys at Blue Ridge to a duel between his kingsnake and their rattlesnake and copperheads. For miles around, he became known as the boy with the snakes.

After several encounters, he realized why his snake was called King!

One night a snake fell from the ceiling across Kay's face as he was asleep. He

No. 4 ~~train~~ ^{once} Mother, Leak and Norman came to Blue Ridge for a family visit, which all of us greatly enjoyed. One Christmas I ^{stopped off at} ~~visited~~ Tucson for a visit with Kay. My berth was on a ^{car} ~~train~~ which ~~was~~ ^{on the siding at} was set off ~~at~~ ^{from} Tucson in the early morning. Before retiring I had given my trousers to the porter to be pressed. Upon arising, to my dismay, I found that they were still on the train heading for California. A wire was sent, and I ^{rested} ~~was~~ ^{the} ~~was~~ in Pullman berth until they were returned, several hours later.

comfortably

of the famous summer conferences. During these months ^{happy when} we were together, ^{we} ~~constantly~~ made up for some of the time we had lost as a family. One summer our neighbors in a nearby cabin were Reinhold Niebuhr, his mother and sister. Another time we enjoyed the companionship of Charles S. Johnson and his family. Later he ~~became~~ ^{became} President of Fisk ~~University~~ ^{adjacent} cabin University. The ~~house~~ ^{was} owned by Will W. Alexander, of the Committee on Race Relations. There were five of them, ^{during the summers} so the nine of us had enjoyable experiences together. ^(A) ~~Kay and Mary~~ ^{they} ~~enjoyed a box of snakes and a kila monster on the Patterson and brought them~~

Our moving to California came about this way. At the end of our world tour in 1930, while we were in Tokyo, a cablegram came from Betty House, informing us that Dr. Kenworthy ¹⁴ strong urged that Kay be sent to a mild climate for health reasons. He and Mary spent the eleven months that we were on tour with the Reverend and Mrs. Eugene E. House, who had formerly lived in an apartment above us in Sunnyside. During these months the children were in Lincoln School, and attended Sunday School at the Riverside Church. We cabled a request that Betty and Gene begin ~~ing~~ exploring possibilities. When we landed at San Francisco, I went at once to the Estes Park student conference; while Alma ~~went to~~ ^{traveled by way of} Tucson, to visit the Southern Arizona School for Boys. She was favorably impressed with Mr. Harper and Captain Fairgrieve, and enrolled Kirby Junior in the first class ~~desert~~ ^{near the} ~~mountains~~ ^{several} of the new school, located in the desert ~~about 200~~ ^{about 200} miles from Tucson.

Alma returned from the long tour in an exhausted condition, and suffered even more severely from migraine headaches. Upon the doctor's advice, we enrolled Mary in Oakwood School, a Quaker preparatory School near Vassar. At the end of four years, Kay's health had greatly improved, but it seemed unwise for him to return to New York. In order that all of us might live together again, we ~~decided~~ ^{was} that it ~~would be~~ wise to move to California. Kay and Mary were enrolled in the same class in Whittier College, of which our old friend W. D. M. was just becoming president.

So health of a member of the family again causes us to make our home in California.

to our cabin. many afterwards Alma sat on the porch reading, with a snake around each wrist and one around her neck. They challenged boys at Blue Ridge to a snake fight. The famous farmer, the boy with the snake.

2

At the time we bought this place , it was really out in the country, with only two houses within shouting distance. Wild rabbits played all about, and in the canyons at night coyotes serenaded us, until we came to appreciate the lines of the Texas folksong, "O bury me not on the lone prairie, where the wild coyotes howl over me." Early one morning, as I walked up the road, I saw ^{two} wildcats playing in an ~~acacia~~ tree. On many a night we were aroused by the blowing of horns and the baying of hounds, as hunters sought their game. To this day there are foxes in the canyon below our house. Within a week of the writing of these lines, Perry and Marie ~~thought~~ saw two ~~foxes~~ jump over the bank from our road.

And as for skunks, there were so many of them that it is better not to bring up the subject.

One day during the first year in Whittier, Kay suggested that we buy a small place, where we would have more room. After looking around ~~Whittier~~, we found that prices were too high for us. Finally, the realtor took us to two places nearly ten miles away, in the northeastern section of La Habra Heights. ~~When~~ Mary, Alma and I were favorably impressed with the first site, but when we got a view from the second hilltop, we capitulated. The hilltop embraced one and a half acres, falling off abruptly in all directions, except from the ~~main~~ ^{county road} road. At the time it ^{was} covered with oaks up to our knees. When we reached the top, we literally gasped with astonishment and pleasure. This was during the depression year of 1934, and for thirteen hundred dollars we bought this superb ~~new~~ building site, with a clear view of the ocean and Catalina Island, and two ranges of mountains, with citrus and

avocado orchards spreading beneath us, and ~~a view of~~ ^{near} a golf course

We built a seven-room stucco house, with forty-five foot patio, and a

three-room apartment above the garage, plus a large play room on the ground floor. And [^] believe it ~~was~~ or not! - the total cost of the hilltop and the two houses was seven thousand six hundred dollars.

Many times since, our friends have wondered how we could afford to live in such an expensive neighborhood. And we ~~could~~ [^] it because we could not afford to buy in Whittier!

For ~~the next~~ three years, Kay and Mary flivvered back and forth to the campus. Mother came from Texas to occupy the garage apartment. She had spent some weeks with us in New York City. She developed an obsession that her presence was costing us too much, and always she had a passion to live alone. So, after a year, she returned to Texas, near my brother Leak. Alma's mother spent several months with us here. After ~~my~~ Leak's death, in an automobile accident, mother returned to

At first

Kay complained that we did not consult him before closing the deal.

(upon which I have never played).

2

M

One summer Kay, Perry and I slipped away for eleven days of ^{camping and} fishing below the border, near Ensenada. ^{a hundred and fifty miles} I let my beard grow, ^{and} did ~~nothing~~ no work of any kind, except camp duties. Fishing was good, and we rested until we were tired! On another occasion, Kay and his close buddy Arthur George accompanied me to Santa Cruz. While I was speaking at a convention there, they rambled up and down the coast and saw the big trees.

Long ago at our house we played bridge - but, alas, no longer. I was too tense, too eager to win, ~~and~~ too critical of my partner, and too envious of good cards drawn by ^{our} opponents. ~~and Perry was not just a loser!~~ ^{ties!}

5. The games strained family ties! For these ^{same} reasons, Sherwood and I stopped playing on ocean voyages.

And Perry did not find his chief satisfaction in losing.

(Z)

To our dismay, Alma's health did not improve when we came to California. On the contrary, she suffered even more severely with migraine headaches. They became more frequent and ~~more~~ ^{more} extreme. She began taking ~~in~~ injections of gynergen, but received only ~~temporary~~ ^{temporary} relief. In between spells, her energy was so low that she barely managed to stay out of bed long enough to do necessary household ~~work~~ ^{work}, and ~~she~~ was unable to go to church or do any visiting. Fortunately, she was directed to a doctor in Hollywood, who put her on a new and restricted diet, saying that her trouble came chiefly from ^{food} allergies. Since 1940 she has adhered strictly to this diet, and has steadily improved in health. Except at infrequent intervals, she is no longer afflicted with migraines.

Perhaps this is an appropriate place to refer to my own health. My normal abounding vitality has been reduced several times by serious infections. ^{OK} During the period when I was teaching at Yale, a serious thumb infection confined me to the hospital for six days, ~~caused me~~ ^{caused me} to miss seminars for that week, and necessitated the cancelling of engagements. About seven months later, enroute ~~enroute~~ to Chicago, I was compelled to leave the train in Canton, Ohio, and rush to a hospital, ^{because of} ~~then~~ an infection in my right leg. A week later I spent three days in a Chicago hospital, with hot packs ^{below the knee} ~~below the knee~~ and ice bag ^{above} ~~below~~ the knee for forty hours. In Cedar Falls my leg was again examined, ^{and} In San Francisco I hobbled on the platform ^{to give} ~~at~~ the Commencement ^{address at} ~~at~~ San Francisco College. Six months later, I wrote to a friend: "Am feeling better, but am still far below normal. Found three abscesses at the roots of extracted teeth, so hope that we have found the source of these infections."

(W)

in 1937,

Enroute from Chicago to home, the railway conductor handed me a telegram from Mary, informing me that Alma had suddenly been operated upon for appendicitis.

In 1924 an infection locked my jaws, and for a week my nourishment was taken through a straw. In an old letter I find this: "Now five weeks afterward, and I am still unable to chew - either the rag or anything else - with comfort."

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- _____ Copies of "*Living Joyously*", 365 daily readings, 380 pages, cloth binding, only \$1.00. *IDEAL CHRISTMAS GIFT*.----- \$_____
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- _____ Copies of "*The Creative Revolution of Jesus*", full length book in large format, paper cover, 50¢ each.----- \$_____
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W

About five years ago a doctor informed me that my blood pressure was too high, and that I must slow down. Seen after^{ward} my schedule was reduced to a single address per day, which was mere loafing in contrast to the pace I had been going. In time reserpin brought my blood pressure back to normal, and recently it has remained so without medication.

at the end 2 1938.

California. We built her a tiny house in La Habra, with a large garden, where she raised vegetables and kept chickens. The last year of her life was spent in our home, confined to bed as an invalid.

My brother Perry joined us in 1937, and has since lived in the garage apartment. He had been severely gassed in the First World War, and was partially disabled. The next year he was married again, to Marie Tempelen, who brought her three-year-old daughter to live on the hilltop. The years have flown by, Margaret ^{was} ~~was~~ married to Jesse Hansen, and lives in nearby Pomona. For six years, Marie has worked for the American Friends Service Committee in Pasadena, driving the fifty miles back and forth five days per week. ~~For~~ For nineteen these years we have had a common kitchen and dining room - with an amazing degree of domestic harmony! Perry has taken care of the hilltop, and neighboring groves. This arrangement made it possible for Alma to travel with me at will. The two of us insist that ~~that and Perry~~ if we had picked our sister-in-law, we could not have done as well as Perry did!

Soon after graduation from Whittier, Key ~~and Perry~~ and ~~their~~ ^{Arthur} ~~Arthur~~ accompanied us to Estes Park, Colorado, for a combined vacation and study seminar. We had invited friends to spend a month there in nearby cottages, ^{and} meet together for three hours in the morning, with freedom in the afternoon and evening. Among the ^{twenty families} ~~individuals~~ who spent all or a portion of the month in this experience were:

Dr. and Mrs. Earl Cranston, Redlands University
Dr. and Mrs. William Stuart Nelson, President Dillard University
Dr. and Mrs. Nevin C. Harner, Reformed Theological Seminary
Rev. Alfred Nickless, First Presbyterian Church, Davenport
Mr. and Mrs. Gale Seaman, U. C. L. A.
Mr and Mrs. Paul Pfuetze, Whittier College
Rev. and Mrs. Merlin Miller, North Kansas City ~~Miss~~
Miss Iris Miller, North Kansas City

Immediately Kay and Iris fell in love, and were together ^{Constantly.}
~~soon~~ Soon both families were astounded when informed that the ^dlovers
 wanted to be married forthwith, before leaving Estes Park. We urged
 delay, but when Kay and Iris were ~~insisted~~ ^{insisted} the four parents
 gave consent, and they were married in an outdoor ceremony, with both
 fathers ~~participating~~ officiating. ~~The wedding was a very simple one.~~

Upon returning home, it was decided that ~~they~~ ^{they} would live in our
 home, and that Kay would devote himself to the nearly eight acres of
 trees, because we had begun monthly payments upon ^{two} ~~an~~ ~~adjoining~~
 plots of ground. After a year, Kay and Iris decided to study at the
 University of California at Los Angeles. ^{over} At the end of two years ~~there~~,
 Kay received his elementary teaching certificate, and his credentials
 to teach shop and woodwork in high school. Before his first job, he
 received a draft call from ^{in 1941,} Selective Service, and was granted the
 status of a conscientious objector, and ^{in 1944} ~~sent~~ to the Civilian Public
 Service Camp in the mountains near Glendora. ^{That year} ~~Early~~ Iris reached
 a decision that the marriage ^{had been} ~~was~~ a mistake, saying that she did not
 love Kay sufficiently to make a successful home, and asking him for
~~separation~~ a separation. Reluctantly, he consented and she obtained a
 divorce.

Kay remained in C. P. S. for four years, three months and six
 days, all this time within two hours of home. He became camp cook,
 worked long hours, and was able to spend frequent weekends ^{with us.} ~~at home.~~

^{It} When we returned
~~Upon returning~~ from Estes Park, Mary decided that she would
 like to enter Yale University Divinity School, where I was scheduled
 to teach two seminars. This was arranged. Soon after arrival in
 New Haven, she ^{ran across} ~~met~~ Walton A. Raitt, from Fullerton, which we look
 down upon from our hilltop, ^{Quickly} friendship ripened into love,
~~whom she had known casually in California.~~

We decided to sell the additional land because
of difficulty in meeting payments, and because
of the burden of caring for the trees. ~~We are~~
Since then we have been limited to our
original acre and a half.

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and during the next summer they were married in our patio, before returning to New Haven. Mary spent a few weeks at home, upon the birth of their daughter Judith Anne. I had hoped to be on hand for the ^{appearance,} ~~arrival~~, but Judy was stubborn and insisted on delay. Word reached me in Manhattan, Kansas, and at my evening meeting, I read the telegram with the good news of her arrival.

A ~~On one of his evenings away from camp, Kay had a date with a Redlands girl, Evelyn Hope Johannaber. She was rooming with Marjorie Haydock, who had a date with John Reiff, Walt's brother.~~

This proved to be a momentous evening, and was followed by two marriages. John ^{married Marjorie, and} went on to become a famous singer, star of stage, television and screen. Kay and Epsie were married in 1944, while he was still in camp. She was born in China, daughter of Methodist missionaries there. They rented a small apartment in Pasadena, and she obtained employment in an aircraft plant, *then did social work in Pasadena, for which she had been trained*. Upon receiving his degree, Bachelor of Divinity, from Yale, Walt

~~and continued in Y. M. C. A. work, then took up~~ student work at City College in Pasadena, and at College of the Pacific in Stockton. ^{for seven} For ~~six~~ years now he been on the staff of the American Friends Service in the Pasadena office, doing student work and serving as coordinator of peace activities. After leaving C. P. S., Kay taught for five years in the High School at Orosi, and is now in his seventh year in the High School at ^LLin~~en~~, near Stockton. He teaches shop and woodwork, and coaches basketball, baseball and tennis.

W Christmas has been a glorious occasion in our home, because we have had the good fortune ^{to} ~~to have~~, everybody here every Christmas for

near end

(A)

Mary's
On one of Kay's evenings away from camp, he went to ~~Walt's~~ and
Walt's wedding anniversary celebration. John Raitt, Walt's brother,
had a date for the affair with Marjorie Haydock, his fiancée.
Reluctantly, Kay consented to a blind date with Evelyn Hope Johannaber,
who roomed with Marjorie *at Redlands.*

(W)

My of
~~an~~ obsession about obtaining maximum circulation ~~for~~ my books
and pamphlets has imposed heavy burdens upon the family. Long ago
the big game room was transformed into a shipping center and store ~~room~~
~~room~~ for literature. Hundreds of thousands of advertising folders
have been sent out, free copies of pamphlets have been mailed on a
scale that appeared staggering, and a steady stream of orders filled.
I escaped ^{most} ~~much~~ of this hard work because of long absences on speaking
trips, so the burden fell ^{upon Alma} ~~upon Alma~~ ^{has} ~~been~~ through forty
years) and upon ~~Walt~~ Mary, Kay, Marie, ~~Walt~~ and her mother Mrs.
Margaret Tempelen and her sister, Georgea. The ~~uninterested~~ ^{free} ~~uninterested~~
receiver who casually tossed a pamphlet into the wastebasket, little
realized how much money and energy he was casting aside. Fortunately,
sufficient evidence came that the literature was appreciated and used,
to justify the ~~thousands of~~ hours spent in this way. By way
of parenthesis, I have often been criticized for selling my own
literature. But, I have kept lugging ~~thousands of~~ boxes of books into
my meetings, since 1921, and selling them at ~~very~~ low prices, because
of a passion to stir the minds and wills of my audiences and to
persuade them to pursue ^{*further the point of view presented.*} ~~the same old discussion~~ More than a million
copies of my books and pamphlets have been circulated - some of them
remained unread, and some of them proved to be invigorating to ~~the~~ readers. *over*

over
Once in New York City, on a sidewalk stand of a second-hand bookstore,
I found a copy of one of my ^{cloth bound} books at the reduced price of ten cents!
When ^{once} I sought to satisfy my curiosity in a public library, I found that
the leaves of one of my books remain uncut, and therefore the book unread.

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While Alma and I were away on speaking tours, Perry and Marie took care
of the ^{place,} ~~business~~, handled mail, and spent many hours in filling orders.

We could not have continued to live on the hilltop and ~~not~~ travel ~~to~~
together without their help.

~~Twenty~~ twenty years, except when Mary and Walt were in New Haven. Year by year our household has grown larger, until at ~~the latest~~ ^{the latest} ~~celebration~~ festivities Christmas there were eight grandchildren here - Kay and Epsie's Wendy, Barbara, Mark and April; ~~Walt~~ Walt and Mary's Judy, ~~Barbara~~ Ronnie, Heather and Sally. In addition, Margaret and Jesse joined in the opening of presents.

Some ~~more~~ ^{add} years ago, it was rumored that there was oil in these hills. For many decades the Union Oil Company had owned the mineral rights to all property in this ^{area} ~~section~~. When opposition to drilling in this residential ^{section} ~~area~~ became strong, and in order to persuade the county authorities to change the zoning law to permit drilling, the oil company ~~was~~ made an agreement to set aside a certain proportion of total sales ~~as~~ as a community oil pool, to be divided on a basis of the assessed value of property in the year 1940. Drilling operations were successful, and for several years we have been receiving, *from* oil royalties, an income equivalent to a ~~modest~~ retirement allowance.

This has been especially fortunate for us, because as an independent evangelist, I am not eligible for a retirement allowance from any institution. On that eventful day when first we cast eyes on this hilltop, how utterly beyond vision ~~was~~ were the results of our purchase. For twenty-two years we have been privileged to live in this heavenly place - and now we are being paid just ^{to stay} ~~to stay~~ here!

And while on the subject of money, this may be an appropriate place to say that Alma and I have been in debt since the day we were married, except for brief, intermittent periods. This is partly accounted for by the fact that from the time of our engagement we have proceeded on the premise that if we felt it right to take a given step, we would

move forward, and pay the bills as best we were able. In this respect, we have lived recklessly. By temperament, I am super-optimistic. I always expected to raise more money than actually I was able to do. Never have I underestimated the sale of my books! And they have always been sold at rock-bottom prices, while hundreds of thousands of my pamphlets have been sent free to ministers, educators, and other influential individuals. On one of my pamphlets, after obtaining a subsidy of eight thousand dollars, we sustained a family loss of two thousand dollars. But we circulated over three hundred thousand copies! Royalties from books have ^{totaled} ~~been~~ less than the cost of copies given away.

¶ For many years, financial returns from speaking in colleges came chiefly in the form of twelve-dollars-and-fifty-cents-per-day payments from the Christian associations. For ^{nearly twenty} ~~seventeen~~ years the American Friends Service Committee paid a flat rate of forty dollars per speaking day, out of which Alma and I took care of driving our car, ^{across country, annual} ~~obsolence~~, ^{hotel, meals and other} ~~and~~ traveling expenses. ^{and was optimistic about our ability to repay} ¶ Because we have always been able to borrow money, we ^{have} plunged recklessly. At times we have faced unavoidably heavy payments, as when it was necessary to keep both Kay and Mary in preparatory schools for four years. Then we thought it right to borrow heavily on our home in order to enable both of them to make substantial payments on houses of their ~~own~~. ^{We felt it better to help them while their families are growing up, than to leave something after we are gone.} ¶ In looking through accumulated letters and carbon copies, I am impressed with the continuity of our financial embarrassment. And it makes me shudder to think of the total amount we have paid in interest. It is literally true to say that we could not have lived as we did, without generous financial assistance from Sherwood Eddy and a few other friends.

^{It is probable that} ¶ In all my life, I have ~~not~~ ^{received} as many as ^{twenty} ~~seventy~~ fees as high as one hundred dollars for a day's engagement. There have been extended periods when my earnings from speaking were low, as following an attack of flu and a relapse in 1956, when for nine months my fees from speaking totaled sixty dollars. Then, for twenty years, we have received only a small total from the continuing spirituals retreats at our home, and we did not expect payment.

(R)

When The World Tomorrow was compelled to suspend publication, I lost nearly two thousand dollars personally in the collapse.

During the days of the Emergency Peace Campaign my earnings in 1936 were three thousand dollars less than during the previous year, because of concentration, without salary ^{upon} ~~from~~ the Campaign. Before me now is a receipt, dated June 1, 1937, for \$557.00 from the E. P. C., the amount ^{of} ~~amount~~ ^{to which no Campaign funds were on hand, and} travel expense, which I gave as a donation.

(Ray Newton donated far more than this amount) -

(R)

← When The World Tomorrow was compelled to suspend publication, I lost nearly two thousand dollars personally in the collapse. ^{annual} My earnings from ^{breaking} ~~speaking~~ above traveling expenses, have ^{rarely} ~~never~~ exceeded three thousand dollars, and during the two years of The Emergency Peace Campaign earnings from speaking dropped to one thousand dollars each year.

19 A

Through the years I have gone to generous men and women seeking gifts for various causes in which I was interested, and some of the satisfying experiences of my life have come from these visits. Ray Newton and I obtained a contribution of \$30,000 for the Emergency Peace Campaign, and thereby deepened an enduring friendship. Henry Pitney Van Dusen and I were given \$16,000⁰⁰⁰ for the World Court campaign of the Student Christian Movement by Mrs. Anita Blaine, granddaughter of Cyrus McCormick. After I had talked with William H. Hoover, founder of a company that manufactures suction sweepers, he began giving The World Tomorrow \$5,000 a year, eventually contributing a total of \$40,000 for this purpose. A. A. Hyde of Wichita made many generous gifts for my work. I received a subsidy of \$8,000 for the distribution of one of my pamphlets. Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., after showing me the art treasures of their home, contributed \$2,500 to defray Alma's expenses on a world tour. Most deeply of all we are indebted to Sherwood Eddy for ^{nearly one hundred thousand dollars} ~~that~~ that he has expended on our work in forty years - ^{aid to projects for which I had responsibility,} for salary, traveling expenses, books, and in gifts to The World Tomorrow. Without his generous friendship we could not have entered upon and continued our independent work of speaking and writing. We feel a sense of deep gratitude for gifts to our work from donors who would not want their names to be published. ~~During recent years we have been receiving royalties, amounting to the equivalent of a retirement allowance, from a community oil pool established by a company in order to get the zoning law changed so that it would be permitted to drill for oil in this residential area.~~

Now let me call to mind that
careful experience.

Before me is a memorable letter, dated December 11, 1939,
soon after the beginning of World War II, in which I first suggested
~~that~~ driving me from place to place.
to Alma that she begin ~~traveling with me; xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~
We made two long trips together in 1940 (she missed one because
and
she was having her first grandchild), two in 1941, three in 1942.
While on tour in 1942, the rationing board turned down our appli-
cation, with a blunt telegram: "Not furnishing tires to run all
over country." Through the cooperation of Owen Geer in ~~Detroit~~
Dearborn, we purchased an old car with good tires, transferred the
tires to our car, sold the old car, and continued my speaking.
I was given a "C" card, ~~while~~ ~~xx~~
which provided enough gasoline for speaking in California. During
the remainder of the war, I traveled by train and bus, and witnessed
as
many heartbreaking scenes. The trains were packed with soldiers'
we resumed
wives and babies. Early in 1946 ~~xxx~~our rounds of the nation during
the next decade.

*same trip when she was with Mary at the time
Judy was born, and*

11

dated December 11, 1939,

Before me is a memorable letter, in which I first suggested
to Alma that she begin traveling with me, ~~that same year~~

~~Since~~ Since our first long tour together early the following
year, she has driven me the rounds of the nation through our 1956
except for four trips in war years, when we
trip, ~~included the war year 1942 but not the three concluding years~~
of the conflict, when we were unable to obtain gas for traveling
outside the state. I was given a "C" card card which provided
enough gasoline for speaking in ~~all over~~ California. During 1943,
1944 and 1945, ~~we~~ going by train and bus, I was able to speak
widely from coast to coast.

Dearborn

tour in
While on ~~our~~ 1942, ~~the~~ the rationing board turned down
our application, ~~with the result that~~ blunt telegram: "Not
furnishing tires to run all over country." Through the cooperation
of Owen Geer in Detroit, we purchased
~~an old car with good tires, and transferred~~
sold the old car,
the tires to our car, and continued my speaking.

During our first year of touring ~~throughout the country~~ we made two
long tours, and because Alma stayed at home to be with Mary when Judy
came, I made a third trip by train. During the year I spoke in one
hundred and fifty-three cities in thirty states. In many places
the subjects for afternoon, supper meeting, and evening were:

Should American Christians Take Up Arms Against
Hitler and Stalin?

Youth in An Age of Social Convulsion,
How To Keep America Out of War.

in the three addresses

In other places during 1940, I talked about:

Living Prayerfully in an Age of Social Crisis,
The Challenge of the Cross to Christian Patriotism,
What Kind of World Could be Created if Christians
Were Really Christian.

During the first half of 1941, we spent sixteen weeks touring the
South and Southwest, and in the fall drove north to Seattle to Boston
to Atlanta to Enid and home. On this last tour, I concentrated on

(A) ~~15~~

I shall forever be grateful for the privilege of taking tea and conversing with one of the half dozen greatest scientists of the ages. I had carried on correspondence with Albert Einstein in the days when he was stressing the value of getting two per cent of the population to take a resolute stand against participation in war. ^{Mrs.} ~~With~~ Helen Beardsley ^{and} I went to Princeton to seek ^{his} ~~in~~ help in arousing ~~the public~~ ^{people} to the perils of atomic war, and to ask him to take a public stand against the continued manufacture of atomic weapons. In the latter occasion, purpose we did not succeed. But we can never forget the ~~experience~~ ^{occasion.} It was a moving experience to sit there and listen to his ~~gentle~~ ^{gentle} voice and to observe the simplicity of his life. Dressed in homely garments, with long white ^hair, and one of the kindest faces I have ever seen, he was indeed a venerable figure. And yet he was ^{as} much responsible as any other man for the supreme threat to our civilization, the ~~menace~~ ^{power to commit} ~~suicide~~ in nuclear warfare. As long as human records are preserved, the name Albert Einstein will be remembered.

^{stress}

It is more pleasant to ~~reflect upon~~ ^{stress} the limitless possibilities of atomic energy when harnessed for constructive and redemptive uses!

It is more pleasant to reflect upon the blessings for humanity which will come from peaceful use of atomic energy.

My wife and I once talked with a [^]saⁱnt who was a scientist and an artist. We were told by his secretary that Dr. Carver was in feeble health and we must not stay long. We asked about his habits of prayer. He replied that early every morning he went out into the field to get his directions for the day. After talking with him briefly, we arose to go, but twice he motioned for us to remain seated, while he continued to share his experiences. It was plain to us that we were in the presence of a true man of God. We were shown through the museum named in his honor, saw his paintings upon the walls, and talked with friends about his achievements as a scientist. At Tuskegee he pioneered in teaching scientific agriculture to Negroes, and developed countless valuable by-products from the sweet potato and the peanut. In babyhood he was kidnapped with his mother by thieves of slaves. He grew to manhood as a Negro who in a white man's ^{society} ~~ministry~~ was doomed to discrimination and segregation. [^]Uncultured white men who were far beneath him in moral behavior and spiritual power insisted that he "stay in his place." He never became bitter and his attitude was never provocative. Always he was gentle, humble, kindly and forgiving. His name was often bracketed with those of Frank Laubach, Glenn Clark, ~~and~~ Stanley Jones and as mighty men of prayer.

Rufus Jones

two-day spiritual retreats, with these seven themes for the various sessions:

The Love of God and the Judgment of God
 How Seriously Must We Now Take Jesus?
 The Bases of a Just and Durable Peace.
 Practicing the Presence of God.
 Building a Christian Economic Order.
 Looking Ahead Fifty Years.
 The Meaning of the Cross for us Today.

From January, 1942, to the end of May, 1943, I spoke in two hundred thirty-three cities and towns in twenty-eight states, in these churches: Baptist, Church of the Brethren, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, Evangelical, Evangelical and Reformed, Jewish, Lutheran, Mennonite, Methodist, New Church, Presbyterian, Society of Friends, United Brethren, ~~United~~ sixteen Civilian Public Service Camps, and nine Japanese Relocation Centers. ↑

Year after year Alma and I made the rounds, usually two tours per year, or one trip and a crowded program in California.

¶ Let me share with you glimpses of significant experiences through the past eighteen years. From ^{boxes} ~~among~~ of old folders, clippings and letters, I have selected these ^{Colorful experiences:}

Three good reasons why I do not drive now
 The occasion, just after the war, when it was impossible to find a vacant motel or hotel room, and Alma drove for twenty-seven hours from Erick, Oklahoma to La Habra.

Being presented^a to the students of her college in Dayton Beach,
 by Mrs. Mary Bethune.

Over a period of fifteen years, visits in the home of Willis Rich, in North Newton, Kansas, and rejoicing in his heroism as he ~~has~~ fought a creeping malady.

Preaching in the old church in Houston, where Alma and I were married, and greeting friends of another day.

Driving at dusk through heavy rain from Lake Wawasee to Denison University, when hikers along the sides appeared as phantoms; the two men whom Alma narrowly missed, as she swerved the car into

Car: named Alma Kay and Mary -
 plus the care with which I become absorbed in what's on my mind.

center of the highway, at a moment, fortunately, when no car was coming our way.

Preaching in Hende, Texas, where my father left mother to run a tiny store, while he took medical training at Memphis, half a century earlier.

At a luncheon in Denver, with one hundred and seventy-five business men present, as I talked about the theme, How can the Prince of Peace help us now?

The thrilling experience of preaching to two thousand Mennonites at Newton, Kansas.

That evening at Crete, Nebraska, when suddenly I became ill, and Alma spoke in my place at the meeting.

The time when I was waiting to ask the price of a motel in Florida when the man ahead of me was informed, "fifteen dollars," his query, "per week," his dismay when the word came, "per night," - and my hasty departure.

that nine-cent fishing pole bought in Boise,
In 1944, a week each at eight spiritual retreats to which we had invited friends - Quaker Hill, Indiana; Pinebreek Farm, Michigan; Lake Geneva, Wisconsin; Iowa Wesleyan University; Big Bear and Idyllwild, California; Pacific University, near Portland; Zephyr Cove on Lake Tahoe.

The experience of crossing the Mississippi at floodtime; on the Arkansas side, creeping for miles in water across the highway, sometimes to the car axles.

Visiting in the home of Bill Reesa, in Great Bend, Kansas, and remembering how his light shone in Greek classes at Drake.

The friend at La Jolla who personally sold sixty-five tickets to a church supper where I spoke.

The meals we have eaten, from Sleppy Jee's watery soup to fried chicken at an unpretentious house by the way; the host who served other guests with cocktails, while Alma and I sipped tomato juice;

with a hook on the end of some cord - and the trout I caught as we crossed a mountain stream.

and our satisfaction when at mealtime we saw the sign, Howard Johnson.

Addressing five hundred men in the uniform of the Army Air Force in the college auditorium at La Grande, Oregon, after an introduction by the Captain.

Speaking at a Quaker meeting, out in the country, in Virginia.

A spiritual retreat in the Methodist Temple, Chicago; and in the First Methodist Church, Memphis.

Frequent visits, for thirty-five years, to the home of Gale and Minnie Lee Seaman, watching her mind slowly disintegrate, until for seven years she has been helpless and bedridden, and glorying in the unquenchable joy of Gale, and marveling at the vibrancy of his faith in the goodness of God.

That night on a highway in Tennessee when, at the bottom of a hill, we suddenly realized that we were on the bank of a river - with no bridge - and our relief when a ferry boat loomed up.

The time at a national convention when I forgot a main point in my address, although I referred to it by number, and the way students gathered around me at the closing, clamoring, What was point three?

Driving through redwood groves from Eureka to San Francisco.

our second home, that
Many glorious visits in ~~the home~~ of Red and Esther Schaal, as ^{many times} we stayed overnight.

In Uvalde, Texas, the night we parked our car at the side of a hotel, and in the morning discovered that it had been broken into and all our reserve clothing stolen, including a suit I had worn only a few times, and Alma's favorite new dress; my remark to Alma that it served me right for taking a second suit; and her speedy purchase of a second and third dress and fixings.

The period when in seven weeks, I spoke twice daily on forty-five days.

Intimate sharing with Paul and Louise Pfuetze in their home at Athens, Georgia, and vivid recollections of the days when Paul was near death in the Olive View Sanitarium.

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Discussing with ministers in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, the question, Can we follow the way of the cross in an age of violence? And a session on the same theme in Zion Lutheran Church in Niagara Falls.

A memorable hour of private prayer at dawn, deep in the high redwoods.

Talking in a Civilian Public Service Camp at Merom, Indiana, on Sunday ~~afternoon~~ evening, a few hours after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, with an army officer present.

A visit in the home of Alben and Marguerite Byo in Mount Carroll.
The young lady from a Bible college who came down at the end of an address, and told me bluntly, "You don't believe the Bible."

That late afternoon in Pittsburgh when snow became increasingly heavy, with a warning that it would get worse, when Jim Bristol agreed to take my place at an evening meeting, and Alma began driving *to an engagement in St. Louis and on back to car* west, on our way home, hoping to get ahead of the storm; snow and ice all the way to Springfield, Missouri; at fourteen below zero it was so cold that ice formed in the radiator and we had to get more anti-freeze; that tense moment when faulty mechanism caused our car to skid toward a sloping embankment, and almost automatically, I opened ~~the~~ *and* the door, [^] as the car continued gently skidding it was stopped by the edge of the open door, on the verge of overturning.

Talking ~~late~~ late into the night in the home of L. B. Moseley in Pittsburgh.

The month in California when for a period of four weeks I spoke six nights per week, at supper and evening sessions, in six communities.

Listening to a young sailor in uniform sing, "The Publican."
Still I can hear the refrain, "God be merciful to me," followed by the song leader's cheery announcement, "We will now rise and sing Onward Christian Soldiers Marching as to War."

Being entertained in the home of Harry and Dorothy Munro in Fort Worth.

At that night enroute to Chapel Hill when repairs on our car took so long that we did not arrive until four in the morning - and I preached at eleven!

The lady who came to me after a convention program, and without smiling bluntly inquired, "Are you saved?" to which I gave gentle reply, "I hope that I am in process of being saved," - which gave her no satisfaction at all.

Young Peoples' conference at Monte Tye in the big trees.

The occasion when a friend in West Palm Beach obtained the address of a heart specialist in Miami, Dr. Dale *Groom*, and when I called he exclaimed, "You once preached for my father in Cleveland."

The intense summer heat as we drove across Kansas to a Mennonite camp; the profusion with which perspiration rolled off us at the Purdue convocation of Methodist youth; the high temperature of the desert; the occasions when we had to stop to cool our engine on a high mountain road.

Pounding away on my typewriter, as Alma drove toward a convention, putting the finishing touches on How To Pray.

My experience with drinking coffee; since I always knew that I could leave the stuff alone, I usually took it; then to demonstrate the marvel of will power, I stopped for months at a time; then, having proved that I could let it alone, I began again. *I simply enjoy coffee.*

The night when we left Scranton following a meeting, in order to get ahead of a predicted storm, and ran head into it, making ninety miles in six hours; after we had passed Steubenville, realizing that we would not arrive in Lexington, Kentucky, in time for engagements there, returning to Steubenville, where I boarded a train, and Alma came alone in our car.

Boy Scouts of Japanese ancestry, in a relocation center, singing with all their might, God Bless America.

Talking about How God deals with evildoers, in the First United Brethren Church in Hutchinson, and about the same question at the Friends Meeting in Poughkeepsie.

The many times at the end of a sermon when Alma pointed out that my tongue had slipped and I had ^{said} this when I meant that.

The times we have run out of gas - for the car; the weary miles I have walked and returned with a gallon can; the day in Texas when we noticed a sign, "Next gas station seventy miles," turned around, drove back ten miles, filled our tank, and resumed our journey; the week when we had frequent car trouble, with two or three trips to garages, the filling station attendant who couldn't find anything wrong, and a small boy exclaiming suddenly, "Say, mister, your water pump is leaking."

The times we ^{have} had to detour for miles - highway repairs, accidents, flooded underpass - and the mere fact that we had taken the wrong road.

The surge of exaltation when ~~the~~ ^{scores of} chairman at ~~various~~ ^{their} meetings introduced me as one who had been responsible, in part, for ~~the~~ ^{their} entering the ministry; and the number of children who have been given my name.

it was "raining bull yearlings" as ^{for two days}
The time when Alma drove alone ~~from~~ ^{alone} from Billings, Montana, to Mitchell, South Dakota, while I took a plane to Fargo, and then a ^{private} ~~private~~ ^{pewee} air fliver to Mitchell; the occasion when I had to travel by train to make an engagement, and Alma drove ^{alone} in the snow from southern Oklahoma to Keokuk, Iowa; the dash Alma made from ~~Ann Arbor~~ ^{Ann Arbor} to ^{Orosi,} California, in order to be on hand for the arrival of ~~Wendy,~~ ^{Wendy,} and ^{she made from} Fort Wayne the quick trip ^{to} ~~to California, in order to be ready to~~ ^{to} wash diapers for Barbie.

notably with ^{Shirley Collins,} John Nevin Sayre, Paul Jones, ^{Claude Nelson,} Harpold Fey, A. J. Moster,
Constance Rumbough Glenn Smiley—

Over a period of forty years, I have been indebted to the Fellowship
of Reconciliation. Henry Hodgkin, its chief founder, helped me to find
the
my way into a satisfying position of Christian pacifism. I have been
intimate with all its secretaries through the years, and have enjoyed comradeship
with its members in every section of the nation, and in other lands. My debt
to the American Friends Service Committee is heavy. I was honored with
the friendship of Wilbur Thomas, and knew Clarence Pickett ^{when} he was still
at Earlham.

Beyond all repayment is my obligation to the Student Christian
Movement. Its impact was one of the most enduring in my days at
Drake, and over the decades I have been ministered to in its
conferences and conventions. For many years its secretaries opened
doors for me in hundreds of colleges and universities and seminaries.—

especially ^{Dad Elliott,} Ben Cherrington, Roland Elliott, Harold
Colvin, Bill Kitchen, Stella Scurlock, Winnifred
Wygal,
Frances Perry, ^{Fern} Babcock, Grace Lauska Elliott.

Many creative and enjoyable weeks,
year after year, have spent
in traveling with ^{its secretaries} them

place to place — most often
with Red School, Guy Gebhardt, B. Taritt Bell,

Jim Bristol, Olcott Sanders and Bob Vogel. And

Marie,
and our sister-in-law, ^{now} Welf ~~Robert~~, our son-in-law,
the heart of the A.F.S.C. in the Pasadena office.

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Much illumination and inspiration has come into my life from thousands of individuals who must remain nameless. In ^{four decades} ~~nearly fifty years~~ of travel I have been entertained in a very great many homes over the earth. My wife and I have ~~many~~ ^{memories} happy ~~recollections~~ of experiences in homes of missionaries where we were blessed with rich fellowship. All over the United States we have broken bread and received spiritual nourishment from ministers and wives, college presidents and professors, and other laymen. At student conferences I have shared the confidences of young men and women from many campuses, and have ~~absorbed~~ ^{been absorbed} the wisdom and spiritual power ~~and spiritual power~~ ^{drawn} from ~~and spiritual power~~ ^{from} speakers from the continents.

Wise and good men and women who lived long ago have blessed my life. For half a century I have been reading steadily, with ^{continuous} ~~steady~~ access to excellent libraries. For many years I was provided with a fund which enabled me to purchase books. And my wife can testify that an undue share of our family budget has gone for books. At one time ~~I discovered that I was~~ ^{we were} ~~subscribing for seventy periodicals and~~ bulletins. My thought has been carried into the fields of religion, international affairs, ^{economic} ~~economic~~ life, race relations, politics. Unfortunately, ~~I have only limited~~ ^{my} ~~grounding in science and philosophy,~~ ^{is limited.} ~~music and art.~~ ^{poetry} I have read much biography and history. Sometimes in libraries I am filled with awe by reminders of our debt to the past.

Some of my most exhilarating experiences have been in the pulpit and upon the platform. ~~I have never been able to attract huge audiences,~~ ^{Never} ~~but occasionally opportunity was afforded to address several thousand~~ ^{has been} ~~in convention, and~~ ^{ed} ~~students or to speak before large gatherings at church conventions.~~ Some of my most vital moments of prayer have come just before I began to speak.

W

For twenty-two years our hilltop has been ^a ~~the~~ center of informal discussions and spiritual retreats. ^{Three times per week,} For ~~two~~ eight weeks during our first summer here I taught informally two classes, on Democracy: Its Challengers and its Defenders, and The Prevention of War. About ^{and their buddy Arthur George} a dozen individuals joined Kay and Mary for these discussions. In thumbing through old correspondence, I am frequently running across carbon copies of letters of invitation to spiritual retreats. Five successive Tuesdays, from 10 ^{A.M.} ~~o'clock~~ ^{until} 5 P. M., were spent in talking about the themes, How could the Second World War Have been prevented? and How can we help to prevent a third world war? Usually we convened without a specific topic to be discussed, and alternated between

conversation about dominant ideas in our minds, and unhurried periods of silent and audible prayer. It is no exaggeration to say that, through family, ^{two} the years, [^] hundred ~~two~~ groups have spent unhurried hours in our home. ^{controversial}

All sorts of people have come - ministers and wives, high school students, college students, women's groups, husbands and wives, ~~mixed~~ mixed church groups, a Bahaist company. Many nationalities and races have been represented. In one period, five groups came within ten days. Groups have been as large as seventy-five, but the usual number has been fifteen to twenty-five. Much experience has convinced me that informal conversation and unhurried prayer

provide superb opportunity for the clarification of minds, strengthening of ^{of} ^{Commitment,} ~~and~~ and engendering courage.

IV 18

at the age of sixty-seven,

We have now decided that for health reasons, we will not attempt
the rigors of another long speaking tour across the country. There are a thousand
churches within easy driving distance from here. We have come to feel
a sense of sacredness about our home, because of glorious family
experiences, and because of exhilarating spiritual retreats held in
our living room and on our lawn.

~~For twenty-two years groups of~~
~~unhorrified experiences -~~

~~all kinds have gathered for all day or afternoon and evening experiences~~

times During one period of ten days, five groups blessed our home.
of prayer and prayerful discussion of varied questions. From our walls
come echoes of countless conversations about God and Christ, and about
manifold problems confronting us. ~~Riper and riper has become our~~

the fellowship of the saints.

~~More and more we have experienced~~
~~More mature has become our experience~~

Christmas has been a hallowed occasion in our home, because we
have had the good fortune of having everybody here every Christmas
for twenty years, except when Mary and Walt were in New Haven. Year
by year our household has grown larger, until at the latest Christmas
there were eight grandchildren here - Kay's and Epsie's Wendy, Barbara,
Mark and April; Walt's and Mary's Judy, Ronnie, Heather and Sally.
Perry and Marie have never missed the festivities, Margaret has been
here on hand since she was three, and now Jesse makes a full eighteen
of us.

These two decades have brought to us deeper understanding
of the reasons why so many happy families have come to know that their
homes are little colonies of heaven.

and a half
It would be an exaggeration to say that during the hour when presents
were being opened all was as quiet as a cemetery at midnight, especially
at the moment when Mark was so fascinated by the bright red wrapping
that he refused to let go a present marked for someone else.

as calm as in the still night,

The years of every man are numbered, and ^enoⁿ can see far into the future. Alma and I hope that our days will be ^{many}long in this blessed land. There is so much to be done, and such great joy in the doing. We ^{long}want to become more at home in the invisible world of the spirit so that we shall feel less sense of strangeness in our other home, which through all the ages shall never fall into disrepair. In a real way, although to limited degree, we have already experienced eternity in the midst of time, because communion with our divine Father and with the living Christ, and fellowship with loved ones and with the brethren, these are heaven.

EPILOGUE

in words of Holy Scripture

For thou, O Lord, hast made
Me glad by thy work; at the
Works of thy hand I sing
For joy! If I darted swift
To the dawn, to the verge
Of ocean afar, thy hand
Even there would fall on me.
Thy thoughts are very deep!
Search me, O God, and know
My heart, test me and try
My thoughts; see if I am
Taking a wrong course, and
Do thou lead me on the lines
Of life eternal. So teach me
To number my days that I may
Obtain an understanding
Heart. Create in me a clean
Heart, O God, and put a new
And right spirit within me.
Let thy love dawn on me
Undimmed, that all my life I
May be glad and sing. Oh
Send out thy light and thy
Truth, let them lead me, let
Them bring me to thy holy
Hill and to thy dwelling!
And this is life eternal,
That they may know thee, the
Only real God, and him

Whom thou hast sent, even
Jesus Christ. For God
So loved the world that
He gave his only Son,
That whoever believes in
Him should not perish but
Have eternal life. Then
I saw a new heaven
And a new earth, the
New Jerusalem, the
Holy City, coming down
Out of heaven from God.
Thanks be to God who leads
Us, wherever we are, on
His triumphant way and makes
Our knowledge of Him to
Spread through the world
Like a lovely perfume.
How rare it is, how lovely
This fellowship of those
Who meet together! - sweet
As the sacred oil poured on
The head, that flows down
Aaron's beard; vital as dew
Of Hermon, that falls on
The hills of Zion. For
In this fellowship has
The Eternal fixed the
Blessing of an endless life.

AN Abundance of Privileges Blessings Good Fortune

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- showers of*
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Chapter 2

IN CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Midway between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the First World War, on August 7, 1890, I was born in Fred, Texas, a hamlet in Tyler County, forty miles north of Beaumont and thirty miles from the Louisiana border.

Only thirteen years previously had the last unit of the Federal army of occupation been withdrawn from Louisiana, thus ^{ing}end^A the South's terrible ordeal of military subjugation. My people on both sides belonged to the Confederacy, and resided in Louisiana. They endured the hardships of wartime, felt the humiliation of defeat, suffered under the dreadful rule of Carpetbaggers and Scalawags, were engulfed in the South's economic ruin, and went through the severe panic of 1873.

The population of the United States in 1890 was 63 million persons, and there were only 28 cities with population as high as 100,000, and only 134 cities of 25,000 or more. For the whole country average earnings were \$438 per year, and the average for farm labor was \$233 without board. The earnings in Texas were lower than these averages for the entire nation. Of course, we had no running water in the house, no bathroom~~/~~, toilet~~/~~, ~~an~~ electric lights, refrigerator~~/~~, washing machine, phonograph, radio, television, movies, commercialized ~~amusement~~ entertainment, or professional sports.

Benjamin Harrison was President, the expenditures of the Federal Government totaled 318 million dollars, of which 45 millions went to the War Department and 22 millions to the Navy. ~~There were no automobiles~~ ~~in the country~~. I was two years old when Charles Duryea brought out a one cylinder automobile, three when the Ford Motor Company was

organized, eleven when Queen Victoria died, thirteen when the first ~~motion~~ motion picture with a connected story was shown, and in my teens when the first automobile appeared in our village.

My father, James Andrew Thomas Page, was born in east Texas, Julia Isabella Pounds, and my mother [^] on the family plantation near Bogalusa, Louisiana. Grandfather Pounds was a Baptist minister, a slave holder and a Confederate soldier. My brother Leak was three years older, ~~my~~ ~~brother~~ Perry was four years younger, and our sister Bessie died in infancy. The hamlet where I was born was hardly more than a wide place in the road, in the midst of heavy timber. Twenty miles away was the Big Thicket, a forest of two million acres, with almost impenetrable jungle and plenty of alligators, which provided a hiding place for gangs of bushwhackers and desperadoes. A decade later conditions were still so wild and lawless that the Mayor of Beaumont issued a public warning to citizens "to tote guns an' tote 'em in your hands, not on your hips, so everyone can see ~~you~~ you're loaded."

Father was engaged in the timber business, but apparently was not doing well because the year after I was born the family moved "a fur piece" to Hondo ^{San} beyond ~~San~~ Antonio. The journey of 350 miles was made in a covered wagon. In Hondo fathered opened a small store, but soon abandoned it in order to study medicine. In all America at that time there were not many well trained physicians, and in such a pioneer region as Texas the standard was primitive. It is not surprising therefore that father had only two periods of five months each as his total medical education, at Arkansas Industrial University and Memphis Hospital College. Mother supported us while he was studying. Father practiced medicine in three small towns before we moved to the village of Lott, south of Waco. He was

a horse-and-buggy doctor, with a practice which took him to remote places at all hours of day and night in every sort of weather. He had a belligerent disposition, and always went armed (as men did in that day) and kept a loaded revolver in a drawer of his office desk. He had several shooting encounters, and a number of fist-fights, knock-down-and-drag-out affairs, and I remember once seeing him covered with blood from head to foot.

When I was ten or eleven our home was broken by divorce. Father and mother had proved to be incompatible almost from the beginning. He had a fiery temper and was impetuous, while she was strong willed and sensitive. He began drinking heavily, partly because of long hours of exposure to all kinds of weather. Finally he ran away, leaving us without means of support. Then came letters demanding that mother obtain a divorce, against which she had strong religious scruples. When she persisted in her refusal, he threatened to kill himself. So in desperation, she obtained a divorce, and he married again. After that I saw him only a few times before his death in 1931. My reason for not seeing him and ~~maintaining~~ carrying on correspondence with him was mother's strong plea not to do so. It is a source of deep regret to me now that father passed so completely out of my life.

Through the years I have gone to generous men and women ~~and~~ seeking gifts for various causes in which I was interested, and some of the satisfying experiences of my life have come from these visits. Ray Newton and I obtained a contribution of \$30,000 for the Emergency Peace Campaign, and thereby deepened an enduring friendship. Henry Pitney Van Dusen and I were given \$15,000 for the World Court campaign of the Student Christian Movement by Mrs. granddaughter of Cyrus McCormick. Anita Blaine, After I had talked with William H. Hoover, founder of ^a ~~the~~ company that manufactures suction sweepers, he began giving The World Tomorrow \$5,000 per year, eventually contributing a total of \$40,000. A. A. Hyde ^{made} ~~gave~~ many generous gifts for my work. I received a subsidy of \$8,000 for the distribution of one of my pamphlets. Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. contributed \$2,500 to after showing me the art treasures of their home. defray Alma's expenses on a world tour, Most deeply of all we are indebted to Sherwood Eddy for the \$80,000 which he has expended on our work in forty years - for salary, traveling expenses, books, and in gifts to The World Tomorrow. Without his generous friendship we could not have entered upon and continued our independent work of speaking and writing. During ~~the last few years~~ recent years we ^{royalties, amounting to} have been receiving the equivalent of a retirement allowance, from ~~a~~ a community oil pool established by ~~the~~ company in order to get the zoning law changed so that ^{it} ~~they~~ would be permitted to ~~make a~~ drill for oil in a restricted residential area.

Harold S. Gray has been contributing intermittently to my work for forty years

^{for our work}
We feel a deep sense of gratitude for gifts received from ~~several~~ living donors who would not want their names to be published.

One of my most significant interviews was with Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation. After I had made an extended study of the policies of the Corporation and what seemed to me to be some social consequences, I sent my manuscript to him with the request that inaccuracies and misrepresentations be ~~upon~~ pointed out. He very kindly arranged for me to ~~interview~~ ^{consult with} three high officials of the Corporation. Then I talked for an hour and a half with Judge President Gary, James A. Farrell And Comptroller Wm. J. Filbert. They insisted that thirty cents per hour for unskilled labor was that they could afford to pay, and that the twelve-hour day and seven-day week ~~were~~ ^{and their anti-union practice}

~~were~~ essential to profitable production of steel, in spite of evidence which ~~seemed to point~~ ^{made in my judgment pointed justified} to an opposite conclusion. My manuscript was eventually printed in The Atlantic Monthly, and there is reason to believe that it had something to do with the calling of an industrial conference by President Harding, following which the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week were abolished. My interview with Judge Gary served as a vivid reminder of how blind good men can become. The love of gain and the wielding of power over other lives is more corrupting of valid judgment and sound morals than we realize.

In Nanking I had a long talk with Dr. W. E. Macklin, veteran Disciples missionary. During his decades in China, he had observed more substantial changes than had occurred in many preceding generations. In his early days wearing of the que by Chinese men was ~~practically~~ universal, and all Chinese women had their feet bound. These practices were being abandoned, but in 1918 many men who came to our meetings were still wearing the que. Six years earlier a member of the National Assembly ^{had} ~~declared~~ declared, "I had rather lose my head than my que." Most of the women we saw who had passed the age of twenty ~~was~~ had their feet bound. Dr. Macklin went with me to the long rows of crumbling examination cells of the old classical educational system. ^{two} For ~~a~~ thousand years ~~prior to 1902 these examination cells~~ ^{and had been abolished as late as 1905.} ~~had been used to select men for the civil service.~~ As many as 27,000 ^{annually had taken} candidates ~~at a time took~~ the examinations in Nanking, ~~out of which but~~ only three hundred could receive the coveted degree. The new age in China had begun with the reform measures of 1902, sixteen years before my arrival, so it is not surprising that much of old China was still visible.

The ancient wall of Nanking was crumbling, but nineteen years previously ~~this had been the experience of~~ my friend Fletcher Brockman: "We arrived one midnight in a cold drizzle... We were put ashore in deep mud and all our earthly possessions were piled on the bank. ~~In the middle~~ We walked to a nearby adobe hut for shelter... The city wall rose sixty feet above us in the darkness... At dawn the gates were opened."

~~had this experience:~~
had found the city gates locked:

four feet wide, four feet deep
and six feet high

volumes about England, ~~and~~ especially about the labor movement and Labor Party. We carried a trunkful of books on the ship and spent many hours in group discussion of the problems we were to investigate.

During the five summers when I was with the Seminar the membership ^{combined} of one hundred and fifty persons ^{Bromley, Bishop Oxnam,} included Reinhold Niebuhr, Henry Pitney Van Dusen, ^{Bishop} Scarlett, ^{President Ellen Pendleton} Bishop Williams, [^] Fletcher Brockman, Eugene E. Barnett, Sidney Louise Gates, D. Gamble, Eduard C. Lindeman, William Orville Mendenhall, Ernest Anne Guthrie, [^] ~~William E. Sweet~~ William E. Sweet, F. Tittle, Charles Clayton Morrison, Paul Hutchinson, Judge Florence E. Allen,

~~Beyond forgetting the~~ beyond forgetting ~~the~~ was the warm fellowship and invigorating discussions ^{around the table.} with the one hundred and fifty participants in these five seminars.

Our sessions in London were held in Toynbee Hall, a social settlement in East London. Its warden, James J. Mallon, had arranged a program of addresses by an unparalleled galaxy of speakers. Following each presentation, we were permitted to ask questions. First to address us was Ramsay MacDonald, who because of his pacifism had lost his seat in the House of Commons, but who was destined to be three-time Prime Minister. Year after year we listened to Prime Ministers, cabinet members, labor leaders, industrialists, bankers, editors, educators, social workers, church leaders. These notable men and women included David Lloyd George, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Sidney Webb, Harold Laski, William Temple, Margaret Bondfield, R. H. Tawney, Arthur Henderson, Gilbert Murray, Maude Royden, Lord Robert Cecil, ^{George Lansbury,} [^]

the members The quality of ~~our~~ Seminar and the eminence of our speakers combined year after year to ~~stimulate~~ kindle our minds and deepen our sense of responsibility.

once

17
I talked briefly with President Hoover. A small delegation
^ to confer
of us went to Washington ~~and~~ with the President about a child feeding
program. Five of us were received by Franklin D. Roosevelt. ~~He talked~~
~~with us for some time and then he said~~ In a day of supposed
neutrality, the President ^{spoke} ~~talked~~ so freely in the language
of unrestrained denunciation that we were shocked. ^{of Mussolini and Hitler} It was plain that
he would welcome opportunity to take the United States into the war
against the dictatorships.

at his frankness to speak
to ordinary citizens.

For many years Norman Thomas was my intimate friend. He had founded
The World Tomorrow, and during my tenure ~~he~~ served as Contributing Editor
and member of our managing board. I first met him shortly after I had
reached the Christian pacifist position when he was one of the leaders of
the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He had great responsibility for my
becoming a socialist Christian, and with enthusiasm I voted for him all
six times that he was a candidate for President of the United States. ~~He~~
~~giving me a very good example of how to run a campaign~~ When first he was

a candidate, I wrote in his support: "I expect therefore, to vote for
Norman Thomas because of the clearness of his vision, the soundness of
his judgment, the evenness of his temper, the courage which he displays,
the utter unselfishness of his life, the cause for which he stands, and

No 44 In the days when Sherwood Eddy, Norman Thomas and Paul H. Douglas and I
were active in promoting the newly formed League for Independent Political
Action, I was thrown into intimate contact with John Dewey, who became
our national chairman. He was ^{a heavy and dull} ~~an ineffective~~ lecturer, but through the
years had become America's most influential educator.

the methods which he advocates. Twenty years from now
he will be as highly honored in this country as Keir
Hardie and the other founders of the British Labor
Party are revered in England today." Long ago the
soundness of this prophecy was recognized by the
American people.

17 A

It has been my privilege to know two of the greatest women of American life. At Hull House in Chicago I talked with Jane Addams, spoke from the same platform with her, and exchanged letters with her over an extended period. I have read much of what she wrote, and have felt the spell of her spirit and achievements. At Hull House she had gathered about her a group of ^{notable} ~~remarkable~~ women, ^{who} ~~they~~ went about ^{doing good} in the vast community of underprivileged immigrants, ~~and~~ Pioneer in the promotion of protective legislation for women and children, Miss Addams came to be known as a "radical" and incurred hostility to such a degree that men of privilege and power said that she ought to "be hanged to the nearest lamp-post."

While ~~was~~ Editor of The World Tomorrow, I carried on correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt, and later was invited with a small group to the White House, where we plied her with questions, ~~and~~ I remember that she walked across the circle in which we were standing to pay special attention to a young Negro woman. This act was typical of her concern for the ^{handicapped,} ~~dispossessed,~~ the dispossessed, the segregated, ^{Mrs. Roosevelt} ~~she~~ is now revered by millions, and I share the conviction that she is one of the great humanitarians of American history.

Chapter 2

BOYHOOD AND YOUTH

Midway between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the First World War, on August 7, 1890, I was born in Fred, Texas, a hamlet in Tyler County, forty miles north of Beaumont and thirty miles from the Louisiana border.

My ~~generation~~ ^{generation} has been decisively affected by war. The Civil War and its aftermath set the stage for father and mother in their childhood and youth. He was born ~~during~~ ⁱⁿ its second year, and she began life at its close. For the first decade of their lives, Louisiana was ~~still~~ ^{their} governed by an army of occupation. ~~My~~ ^{their} people ~~belonged~~ ^{belonged} to the Confederacy, endured the hardships of wartime, felt the humiliation of defeat, suffered under the dreadful rule of Carpetbaggers and Scalawags, were engulfed in the South's economic ruin, shared the anguish which and depression followed in the train of the disastrous panic which began in 1873 and continued for five years. In my parents' early days ^{Only} hatred of the North and fear of liberated Negroes were dominant passions. ^{Twenty-five} years ^{separated} me from me from the calamitous war between the states. In the thirteen years since the last unit of the army of occupation had been withdrawn, the South with relentless zeal had settled down to the task of restoring white supremacy and ^{again putting} ~~restoring~~ the Negro ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ his place." ^{earlier still} The Ku Klux Klan had arisen and was creating a reign of terror. For many years Negroes lost the right to vote and were reduced to complete subserviency. The entire life of my people was dominated by war and ~~the havoc it created.~~ ^{the havoc it created.}

2
My father, James Andrew Thomas Page, was born in east Texas and spent his youth in Louisiana, while mother, ~~the~~ Julia Isabella Pounds, began life on the family plantation near Bogalusa, Louisiana. Grandfather Pounds was a minister of the Baptist Church, and was beloved as a kindly and concerned pastor. He believed in chattel slavery as a divine institution ^{established} by God for the wellbeing of slaves and masters alike. ~~His~~ Conscientiously he bought and sold human beings, as he purchased live stock. ~~His~~ patriotic zeal was given to the case of the South, and he fought valiantly as a Confederate soldier.

Memories of ~~my~~ father are confined almost entirely to the first ~~years~~ ^{in 1899} of my life, because ~~about 1899~~ he deserted ~~my~~ and we saw little of him thereafter. I remember him as a kindly and jovial parent, also as a stern disciplinarian with a hot temper. He was a leader in the local Church of Christ, I think an elder, and from babyhood we were carried to church. I have a vague recollection that sometimes, when no minister came, he would preach ^{morning} the sermon. When I was a ^{small child} ~~boy~~ he began the practice of medicine, ^{as} a horse-and-buggy doctor, with ^{patients who called} ~~practice that took~~ him to remote places at all hours of day and night in every sort of weather. ^{of} ~~He~~ a bellicose disposition, ^{he} ~~was~~ usually went armed (as ~~most~~ many men did in that day) and kept a loaded revolver in a drawer of his office desk. He had several shooting encounters, and a number of fist-fights, knock-down-and-drag-out affairs, and I remember seeing him covered with blood from head to foot. ^{generous} ~~He~~ with his time, ~~the~~ his uncollected bills for services rendered amounted to a substantial proportion of his medical practice.

Mother was a woman of extraordinary integrity and strength of character who suffered much unhappiness in her lifetime. She never forgot that in childhood she was told that she was an unwanted baby, being the last of nine children. The death of little Bessie caused her much grief. She knew that she was father's second choice, that he had married her after he had been rejected by another woman. She felt great anxiety when ^{my brother} Perry enlisted in the Navy. She was left alone after I went to the university and Leak married against her will and moved to California. She earned her own livelihood by taking in boarders and by sewing. In ^{her loneliness} desperation she married an elderly man, and lived happily with him. After Mr. Murry's death, she ~~insisted~~ insisted on living alone for many years. Over long periods she suffered from ill health. All this combined to give her a pessimistic attitude toward life, and she often worried about many things. Her relations with her children ^{were} ~~was~~ warm and affectionate, and sacrificial in high degree. She went without in order that we might have. She taught us integrity, hard work, ^{and} ~~and~~ thrift, ~~and~~ brought us up in the atmosphere of religion. *She was a good neighbor and*

she loved him deeply, and
When ^{he} father deserted the family, she was plunged into deepest anguish.

Rarely have I known a person with such a sense of sturdy independence and indomitable will.

MY CUP RUNNETH OVER

The Autobiography of Kirby Page

"... my cup runneth over. Surely
goodness and mercy shall follow me
all the days of my life."

My Cup Runneth Over
~~WITHIN MY MEMORY~~

The Autobiography of Kirby Page

Blessings Showered Upon Me

1. ~~Vivid Recollections.~~
2. ~~As I Was Growing Up.~~ *in childhood and Youth.*
3. University and Seminary Days.
4. Travel in Many Lands.
5. The Gospel Which I Proclaimed.
6. ~~Myself~~ Preaching in College^s and Churches.
7. Years of Writing.
8. Editing The World Tomorrow.
9. Meeting With Opposition.
10. Family Experiences.
11. Convictions ^{*that*} ~~which~~ Have ^{*Impelled*} ~~Driven~~ Me.

My wife and I once talked with a saint who was a scientist and an artist. We were ^{told} ~~warned~~ by his secretary that Dr. Carver was in feeble health and ~~that~~ we must not stay long. We asked him about his habits of prayer. He replied that early every morning he went out into the field to get his directions for the day. After talking with him briefly, we arose to go, but he motioned ^{twice} ~~to~~ us to remain seated, ^{we} ~~had previously been~~ shown through the museum named in his honor, ^{saw} ~~had seen~~ his paintings upon the walls, and ~~had~~ talked with ~~several~~ ^{At Tuskegee} friends about his achievements as a scientist. ^{He} pioneered in teaching scientific agriculture to Negroes, and developed countless valuable by-products from the sweet potato and the peanut. We knew that we were in the presence of a true man of God. In babyhood he had been kidnapped with his mother by ~~slaveholders~~ thieves of slaves. He grew to ^{who} ~~manhood~~ as a Negro in a white man's civilization ^{white} ~~who~~ was doomed to discrimination and segregation. Uncultured ^{far} men who were beneath him in moral behavior and spiritual power insisted that he stay in his place, ^{the place of an inferior} He never became bitter and his attitude was never provocative. Always he was gentle, humble, kindly and forgiving. His name was often bracketed with those of Frank Laubach, Glenn Clark and Stanley Jones as mighty men of prayer.

while he continued to ~~talk~~ ^{share} his experiences.

Chapter 1

VIVID RECOLLECTIONS

^{Here}
~~and~~ in my study on a high hill ^I ~~can~~ look across twenty miles to the vast Pacific, and my mind ranges over sea and land. Within reach through a window are gray leaves of a gnarled olive tree, and nearby are evergreen deodars, a cedar of Lebanon, oramental date palms, a magnolia, orange and lemon and lime trees, and a score of stately eucalyptus. We revel in our flower gardens. ^{the} ~~Our~~ patio is lined with georgeous poinsettias, which at Christmas cover the walls to the roof with green foliage and flaming red leaves or bracts as large as dinner plates. Six feet through a window in front of my typewriter is a bird-bath and seed-trough which brings me an endless succession of feathery visitors. Of the twenty-seven species of ^{parrots are the exgoistic hummingbirds and} birds we have counted, my ~~favorite~~ ^{favorite} is the sweet-throated mockingbird, which sometimes sings half through the night. ^{vantage point} This is a hilltop of many moods. On clear days we see snow-clad mountains, the ocean, Catalina Island, and a few times during the year we get a clear view of San Clemente Island ^{seventy-} at a distance of ~~sixty-five~~ miles. Sometimes we are above the fog, frequently under it, and often are enveloped in it. On dark nights a fairyland spreads before our eyes from the lights of a score of communities beneath us, and we are blessed with glorious sunrise and sunset and moonlight.

Often through the years my wife and I have traveled from this heavenly place to far corners of the earth, as well as back and forth, up and down this homeland we so love.

Across the years my wife and I have traveled back and forth,
up and down through all states of the Union, and to far corners of
the earth. At Darjeeling near the border of Tibet, the rain stopped,
the clouds ^{separated} ~~parted~~ as curtains, and we gazed in ~~our~~ wonder at the full
glory of Kanchengunga rising twenty-eight thousand feet into eternal
snow. On a hillside outside Interlaken we sat for three hours
enthralled by the Jungfrau and the alpenglow with its tints of
utter radiance. On the Acropolis, amid the ruins of the Parthenon,
we beheld a sunset which lifted us out of this world. Once we
steamed due east on the Volga at the going down of the sun and saw
the churning water transmuted into pure gold. We sat on the shores
of Lake Galilee lost in reflection. On the ocean far from land
we witnessed the calm of a motionless sea smooth as glass, and
several times we saw our ship ride out a fearful storm. ^{On a boat on} ~~On~~ Lake
Lucern surrounded by a scene of sheer loveliness, our enjoyment
was shattered by loud complaint from a fellow-American about
accommodations, ending with the ~~words~~ cry: "I wish to God I was
back in Chicago!" We have welcomed the sight of emerald Ireland
and the chalk cliffs of Dover. With the spirit of Wordsworth,
^{of England} we ~~have~~ moved through the lake country, ^{absorbed} and the heather of Scotland.
In a cathedral of pine and spruce, we ~~took in~~ ^{absorbed} the beauty of
Puget Sound. We stretched out in a magnificent grove of ^{huge and towering} redwood
and in the silence calmed our souls. ^{over} Once we ^{motored slowly} ~~traveled~~ northward
from the Gulf of Mexico when for three weeks we were daily in
sight of dogwood, azalea and rhododendron. And beyond all telling
is the experience of sitting on a hill and looking across a riot
of autumn color in Maine. In sunlight and in moonlight, we were
quintessentially stirred by the beauty of the Taj Mahal.

We were awed by the Grand Canyon at dawn, midday, sunset and in the moonlight. The magnificence and might of Niagara Falls rolled over us.

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Among the exalted privileges of my life ~~was~~ the days we spent with Mahatma Gandhi at Sabarmati. We arrived at the ashram on his weekly day of silence, and talked with his friends until the hour of evening worship, when we sat in the circle on the sand. ~~Then~~ Then we had an hour's conversation with Mr. Gandhi. At dawn we joined the circle of worship, at mealtime we sat on the floor near him and observed the simplicity of his diet, and during our stay of three days were privileged to talk with him on three unhurried occasions. Later we ~~were~~ ^{ad} attend the Indian National Congress at Lahore, over ^{which} ~~which~~ the Mahatma presided, and ~~to~~ ^{on the sawdust} join a small group which gathered around him ^{in a nearby tent} for worship at sundown. During our stay in India Mr. Gandhi was the subject of ~~many~~ numerous conversations with Indian, British and American friends. ~~We heard words of adoration and words of condemnation; one missionary exclaiming at her own breakfast table, "Mr. Gandhi will burn in hell for his sins."~~ Sherwood and Mrs. Eddy, ^{listened to} my wife and I were in agreement, as we talked with him and ~~heard~~ him at the hour of worship, that we were in the presence of ~~the~~ one of the great ^{souls} ~~ones~~ of the ages. In the degree to which his spirit directed his body, in the extent to which he had achieved selflessness, in his devotion to truth and the will, ^{divine} ~~all~~, in his ^{compassion} ~~concern~~ for the wellbeing of the people, ^{in his identification with the poor,} in his courageous commitment to non-violence as a way of life, in his confidence in human nature, in his conviction that goodness is ^{in his ability to endure suffering,} mightier than evil, he ranks with the noblest of the great men of God. The impact he made upon our minds and emotions is beyond my power of ~~interpretation and description.~~ ^{telling.}

In 1923

~~1923~~ I
after returning from Detroit ~~in 1923~~ talked with Sherwood Eddy
about ~~my impressions of~~ a remarkable young minister ~~by the name of~~ ^{named}
Reinhold Niebuhr. Within a few weeks we invited him to join our
non-salaried staff of The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order ~~and~~ ^{for many months}
^{and} work with us in the colleges. This appealed to him and during the
~~next two years~~ ^{numerous} he appeared on ~~many~~ campuses under the auspices of the
Fellowship, while continuing his ministry in Detroit. One day in early
1928 I asked Professor Harry F. Ward why Niebuhr was not being invited
to join the faculty of Union Theological Seminary. When the reply came
that the Seminary did want him but ~~that~~ there was no provision in the
budget to ~~make~~ make possible a call to him, I went at once to the
office of Sherwood Eddy to find out if he could obtain the required ^{Union} funds.
~~union~~ This he was able to do. When Niebuhr came to ~~New York~~ in
the fall of 1928, he joined ~~Reverend Allen~~ as a non-salaried editor of The
World Tomorrow, along with Devere Allen. During the next six
years Sherwood and Reinie ^{and Devere} ~~themselves~~ were my ~~most~~ most intimate friends. At one
period Niebuhr became convinced that he should leave the Seminary and
become pastor of a church for industrial workers. When no suitable
opening was found, he settled down to become America's foremost
theologian. ~~One of my deepest regrets is that since we came to~~ ^{since}
~~California in 1934, I have been able to see Reinie only~~ ^{infrequently}

~~infrequently~~

^{our family moved from}
Until ~~we~~ left New York in 1934, we were together constantly. ^{and} his
friendship was greatly treasured, ^{and} one of my deepest regrets is that
in recent years I have talked with him only infrequently.

California

Our hilltop is twenty miles from the vast Pacific, the same
distances Nazareth is from the blue Mediterranean. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxx~~ looking upon the ocean, my mind ranges
~~xxxxxx~~ and other seas.

As I sit

Here in my study on

~~As I sit in my study~~

Here in my study on a high hill I look upon the vast Pacific,
twenty miles away, the same distance Nazareth is from the blue
Mediterranean. My mind ranges over the ocean to far places and
other seas. This is a vantage point of many woods.

KIRBY BODER CORPORATION

No. 297

"The guilt of us all."

"And the Lord made to light upon him

Chapter 1

MEMORABLE EXPERIENCES

~~Here in my study on a high hill I look across twenty miles to the~~
~~vast Pacific, and my mind ranges over sea and land.~~ This is a vantage
point of many moods. On clear days we see snow-clad mountains, ~~the~~
~~Catalina Island~~, and a few times a year we get a ^{distinct} clear view of
~~San Clemente Island~~ San Clemente Island at a distance of seventy-five
miles. Sometimes we are above the fog, frequently under it, and often
are enveloped in it. On dark nights a fairyland spreads ~~beneath us,~~
before our eyes from the lights of a score of communities beneath us,
and we are blessed with glorious sunrise and sunset and moonlight.

Within reach through a window are gray leaves of a gnarled olive
tree, and nearby are evergreen deodars, a cedar of Lebanon,
ornamental date palms, a magnolia, ~~orange and lemon and lime~~
~~trees,~~ and a score of stately eucalyptus. ~~We revel in our flower~~
~~gardens.~~ The patio is lined with gorgeous poinsettias, which
at Christmas cover the walls to the roof with green foliage and
glaming red leaves or bracts as large as dinner plates. Six feet
through a window in front of my typewriter is a bird-bath and
seed-^{box} ~~trough~~ which brings me an endless succession of feathery
visitors. Of the twenty-seven species of birds we have counted,
my favorites are the exquisite hummingbird and the sweet-throated
mockingbird, which sometimes sings half through the night.

~~Our home~~ ^{are} surrounded by fruit trees - lemon, lime,
~~We appreciate our fruit trees~~ ^{orange, and other citrus} avocados, peaches, plums,
apricots, figs, persimmons - our vegetables and grapes
and berries, ~~and we~~ Our flower gardens are
a source of much enjoyment.

We sat on the shores of Lake Galilee and let our
minds dwell upon sacred scenes of long ago. A
great while before day, we climbed the hill
above Nazareth and prayed where Jesus had so
often communed with his Father at the full
radiance of ~~the dawn~~. *Sunrise.*

Across the years my wife and I have traveled back and forth, up and down through all the states of the Union, and to ^{remote places} ~~the~~ corners of the earth. At Darjeeling near the border of Tibet, the rain stopped, the clouds separated as curtains, and we gazed in wonder at the full glory of Kanchenjunga rising twenty-eight thousand feet into eternal snow. On a hillside outside Interlaken we sat for three hours enthralled by the Jungfrau and the alpenglow with its tints of utter radiance. On the Acropolis, amid the ruins of the Parthenon, we beheld a sunset which lifted us out of this world. Once we steamed due east on the Volga at the going down of the sun and saw the churning water transmuted into pure gold. In sunlight and in moonlight we

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were stirred by the beauty of the Taj Mahal. We sat on the shores of Lake Galilee and let our minds dwell upon scenes of long ago. Lake Galilee lost in reflection. On the ocean far from land we

marvelled at
witnessed the calm of a motionless sea smooth as glass, and several times we saw our ship ride out a fearful storm. In a boat on Lake Lucern *we were enveloped in* surrounded by ~~beauty~~ of sheer loveliness, ~~our enjoyment was shattered by loud complaint from a fellow-American about accommodations, ending with the cry: "I wish to God I was back in Chicago."~~

With the spirit of Wordsworth, we moved through the lake country of

England and the heather of Scotland. In ~~a~~ *drank in* cathedral of pine and spruce, we absorbed the beauty of Puget Sound. We stretched out in a magnificent grove of ~~huge and towering~~ *California* redwood and ~~in the~~ silence calmed our souls.

We were awed by the Grand Canyon at dawn, midday, sunset and in the moonlight. We felt the magnificence and might of Niagara Falls roll over us. ~~As~~ *As* we motored slowly from the Gulf of Mexico ~~and~~ for three weeks we were daily in sight of dogwood, azalea and rhododendron. And beyond all telling is the experience of ~~sitting on a hill and looking across~~ *being enthralled by* ~~the~~ autumn ~~in~~ *caught up into* ~~the~~ *the heaven of* Maine.

private secretary,
~~As a student of world affairs, journalist, author and social evangelist, I was given opportunity by Sherwood Eddy, one of the foremost evangelists of our time, to see much of the world, visiting thirty-five countries of Europe, North Africa, Asia, and crossing the ocean twenty times. My wife accompanied me on two of these long trips, and we were exposed to much beauty.~~

Before the Sistine Madonna, we sat reverently

missionary statesman and poet

No 4 Over a long period

Through the years we have ~~now~~ feasted on splendor, and with John Keats have come to know that

A thing of beauty is a joy forever;
Its loveliness increases; it will never
Pass into nothingness...

As my mind flashes across ~~wide spaces~~ ^{distress} ^{sadness} is mingled with joy.

~~where~~ Echoing in my ears are cries of hungry children, sobbing of bereaved mothers, and bitter quarreling from broken homes.

Before my eyes pass the exiled and dispossessed, the sick and the maimed, the heartbroken and the despairing. I hear the tramp of marching men, and see workers pouring ^{from} through the gates of munitions plants and atomic laboratories. ^{Raucous shouts} ~~Shrill cries~~ of bigotry and intolerance are in the air, and I ~~watch~~ look on the desolation wrought by fugitives racial segregation. I see ~~fugitives~~ from the law, boys and girls in reformatories, hardened criminals in prison, and condemned men and women on the way to execution. And before me in endless file ^{Com} are the multitudes ~~who do not hear the knock~~ who do not hear the knock of the living God upon the doors of their lives, and who make no effort to claim their spiritual heritage.

~~over a long period~~

~~Across the decades~~ Across the decades I have been privileged to know many devoted souls who were doing something about the sorrows and tragedies of mankind. For a very long time I have had an ^{affectionate} ^{friendship} ~~intimate relationship~~ with Sherwood Eddy. He was one of the speakers at the Student Volunteer Convention in Kansas City at the close of 1913 and ^{beginning} ~~beginning~~ of 1914. I attended with a delegation from Drake University, and my fiancée came up from Texas Christian University. He and John R. Mott ~~and other speakers~~ ^{in turn} made a deep and lasting impression upon us. Later I was to serve as private secretary to ^{Dr.} ~~Dr.~~ Sherwood Eddy and ~~later~~ ^{in that capacity} with ^{Dr.} ~~John R.~~ Mott.

Each of these great leaders.

During my lifetime I have been privileged to know many devoted souls who were doing something about the troubles and tragedies of mankind. For a very long time I have had an affectionate friendship with Sherwood Eddy. He was one of the speakers at the Student Volunteer Convention in Kansas City at the close of 1913. I attended with a delegation from Drake University, and my fiancée came up from Texas Christian University. He and John R. Mott made a deep and lasting impression upon ^{us} me. Later I was to serve in turn as private secretary to each of these great leaders. Sherwood Eddy was fifteen years a missionary in India, working first with students and then in Tamil with villagers. After 1907 he became the foremost evangelist among students in China, Korea, Japan and throughout the Far East and the Near East. He possessed genius in speaking through interpreters in many lands, and had unexcelled power to move the will ^s of men. After the First World War he became a flaming crusader for social righteousness. He has pioneered in many realms of thought and action, and ^{at} the age of eighty-five is preparing to fly from center to center in Asia on an extended speaking tour. His temperament is almost ideal. He has been blessed with prodigious physical vitality, never worries, is never irritable, and always filled with hope. His prayer life is vital and he moves forward with ^{vibrant} unbounded faith in God. He has been at the same time father and brother to me for more than forty years, and the influence he has had upon my life is beyond measurement.

Fifteen American student generations have felt the powerful impact of his ~~pleading~~ evangelistic ~~testimony~~, and his fifty books and pamphlets have penetrated deeply into the lives of his ~~many~~ readers.

fervent

millions of

We found this hilltop in 1935. Our son and daughter were in their freshman year at Whittier College. We were renting a house where we felt shut in, so we began looking for a place to buy. We encountered two difficulties - not enough space around the house, and too expensive. Finally the realtor brought us ten miles to a hill covered with oats. The day was brilliant with unobstructed view of mountains and ocean. So we paid \$1,300 for covering the entire hilltop, an acre and a half, and built two houses for \$6,300 - a total of \$7,600, so serious was the economic depression. For three years our son and daughter drove an old Ford back and forth to the campus. And here we have lived for more than two decades. Christmas has been an especially happy time because our son and his wife and children have been here every year, and our daughter and her husband and children missed only the two holidays when they were at Yale Divinity School. My brother and his wife and daughter came nearly twenty years ago to live in the adjoining house. During all ~~this time~~ ^{this time} we have been blessed by the coming of many groups for unhurried periods of fellowship in thought and prayer. Thus our living room has become a truly hallowed place. Before I have concluded I will tell you more about our life on this heavenly hilltop.

How was the price level during the

In The University Of Adversity

Challenge

~~Stimulus~~ and response is the law of growth, of individuals and of societies. For the highest development, the stimulus must not be too mild or too severe. The golden mien of challenge produces the most appropriate response. This truth was illustrated in the life of Horace ~~Frederick~~ Bushnell. He was born in 1802, and until ~~the~~ the age of twenty-one ~~he~~ did strenuous labor in a woolen mill and on a Connecticut farm. During half of his seventy-four years he ~~suffered from tuberculosis~~ was an invalid, suffering from tuberculosis. Throughout his career as minister of North Church in Hartford, he was under fire for his "heretical" views. His emphasis upon the steady nurture of children into the full Christian experience clashed with the prevailing dogma of ^a second birth through a dramatic conversion. Persistent efforts were made to bring him to trial for heresy, and for many years he was ostracized by most of his fellow ministers. Out of this experience, he wrote:

Memoranda

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I believe that man's most significant exploration is his endeavor
 to find the will of God and gain power to do it. ^{Man's} most precious resource
 in this undertaking is the initiative which is ever seeking to provide guidance
 and to bestow power. The will of God is his desire for an individual ^{'s} life,
 wants that person to be and to do ^{his} - his purpose, plan, his continuous
 endeavor ^{in and for that ~~man~~ individual.} to achieve. It is our Christian faith that the Eternal is concerned
 about his children one by one. This truth Jesus expressed in ^{vivid} ~~the~~ ~~imagery~~
~~imagery of God knowing the number~~ imagery: "Two sparrows sell for a cent,
 don't they? Yet not a single sparrow falls to the ground without your Father's
 knowledge. But in your case the hairs of your head are all numbered. Never be
 afraid, then - you are far more valuable than sparrows?" Thus "it is never the
 Will of your Father in Heaven that a single one of these little ones should be
 lost." The character of God is the mirror in which we discern his will, ^{and} come to
 know what ~~he~~ he wants and is seeking to accomplish. ^{is} The reasons for
 believing that God is Christlike and most full revealed in Jesus provide ^{the Holy Spirit of}
~~assurance~~ assurance that God is ever endeavoring to "guide us into
 all truth."

Factors which determine the fulness of human apprehension of God's will
 include these: intensity of desire to know, purity and integrity of character,
 of moral insight ^{effort,} growth and persistence of ^{the} ~~desire~~, readiness to walk in light when ^{received} ~~one~~ for
 he that will do shall know. Awareness, sensitivity, responsiveness are
 conditions of understanding. Many generations of Christians have lived with
 the ^{knowledge} ~~assurance~~ that keeping close to Jesus Christ ^{until} ~~and~~ saturated with
 his spirit and teaching enables God to reveal his will more completely. And
 they have discovered what Jesus meant when he said: ~~that~~ "where two or three are
 gathered together in my name, there ^{am I} in their midst." Fellowship of
 kindred spirits provides God with opportunity which he never misses.

Dr. Leslie D. Weatherhead published in wartime a widely read book with the title, The Will of God. Many references to this little volume in conversations, group discussions and public forums have convinced me that it has been confusing, as well as helpful, to ^{numerous} ~~many~~ readers. He speaks of the Intentional will, the Circumstantial will, and the Ultimate will of God.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX the case of a young woman whom he assumes God intended to live a married life.~~ He illustrates with the case of a young woman whom he assumes God intended to live a married life. When ^{this} ~~was~~ ^{became} ~~advisable~~ inadvisable, the circumstantial will of God was that she should live a noble and useful life as a single woman. Situations of this ^{kind} ~~accident~~ flash into mind - God's intention that a man should have the use of his legs, and after an accident his circumstantial will that the individual should triumph in spite of his handicap; God's intentional will that a boy should possess the faculty of sight, and after an explosion ^{has} ~~begin~~ circumstantial will that the child ~~learn~~ ^{begin} to read lips and to learn from raised letters.

Another illustration used by Dr. Weatherhead does not seem to me to reveal God's attitude. He considers the case of a son and father who agreed that the boy should become an architect. When war broke out, the intentional will of the father was changed into his circumstantial will that his son become a soldier. Why not a conscientious objector? Why not go to prison rather than go to war? How do we determine the circumstantial will of God in such a situation? One certainty is that ^{his} ~~the~~ circumstantial will ~~shall~~ ^{God never betrays his} never stands out in moral contrast to his intentional will. There are no circumstances under which God wants an individual to take a course of action which constitutes ^{an ethical} ~~repudiation~~ of his intentional will for that life. If war under some circumstances ^{is} ~~was~~ God's way, then plainly it may be his circumstantial will for a young man. But if the way of war and the way of God as revealed in our Lord are irreconcilable, and ~~unreconcilable~~ if allegiance to one means the rejection of the other, then going to war is not God's will in any sense. Likewise, if capital punishment is a proper illustration of God's way of dealing with evildoers, then hanging a man may become the circumstantial

own integrity.

will of God. *This is contrary to my understanding.*

The Cross of Christ is examined by Dr. Weatherhead in the light of the intentional, the circumstantial, and the ultimate will of God. His conclusion is that the Cross was the circumstantial will of God for Jesus: "It was not the intentional will of God, surely, that Jesus should be crucified, but that he should be followed... But when Jesus was faced with circumstances brought about by evil and thrust into the dilemma of running away or of being crucified, then in those circumstances the Cross was his Father's will."

When he says: "... in those circumstances the Cross was his Father's will"

does he mean: "... in those circumstances the crucifixion was his Father's will?"

(22) inquire
Let me ask ~~you~~ *inquire*: ~~under all the circumstances did God want~~
Did ~~Jesus to be crucified?~~ *under the circumstances,* ~~Is~~ the Eternal desire that Jesus should suffer the pain and shame of this form of capital punishment? In seeking a right answer,

let us remember that ~~the crucifixion~~ Judas did wrong in betraying our Lord;

it was sinful for the high priest to clamor for the execution of Jesus; it

was morally offensive for the Roman governor to pronounce sentence of

death upon an individual known to him to be innocent of the charges against

him. So what ~~am~~ *I am* really asking is this, Did God want the ~~monstrous~~ *repulsive* ~~monstrous~~ injustice and ~~sin~~ *monstrous* which was the crucifixion to be committed?

The facts are that Jesus did the will of God, and he was crucified. Does

this mean that the crucifixion was the circumstantial will of God? No, most

emphatically no. Everything we know about the character of God as revealed

in the incarnation - in the life and death of Jesus - closes the door to the

possibility that God wanted Jesus, under the circumstances, to be the victim

of this sordid wrongdoing. What God desired was that every participant in

this momentous drama should understand his will and do it. Jesus responded with

fidelity, whereas Judas and Caiaphas and Pilate did not discover God's way or

refused to walk in it. Under the circumstances, God wanted Jesus to remain

faithful, even if he ~~was~~ *knew he would be* killed because of his integrity. God did not desire

crucifixion, he wanted loyalty. Fidelity was the intentional and the circumstantial

Concerning the ultimate will of God, Dr. Weatherhead says: "God's ultimate will - namely, the redemption of man, winning man back to God, ~~not~~ not in spite of the Cross, but using the Cross, born of man's sins, as an instrument to reach the goal of God's ultimate will." My personal conviction is that in the end God's winning power will prove to be mightier than the resisting power of man's corrupted will. But to me it seems important that we should avoid any form of statement of this faith which gives the impression that we believe that God wanted Jesus to be shamefully executed. ^{I would change} ~~Dr. Weatherhead~~ ^{s statement into} ~~something~~ something like this: "God's ultimate will - namely, the redemption of man, winning man back to God, by using the fidelity of Jesus even unto death, in spite of the sins of men against him, as an instrument to reach the goal of God's ultimate will." To me it makes a decisive difference whether we say - in spite of, or because of. The manner in which we express ourselves should convey our faith in the utter holiness and absolute integrity of God.

will of God for Jesus. The crucifixion came in spite of everything that the
holy and righteous and loving God could do to prevent evil men from committing
this ~~evil~~ ^{terrible} crime against his Son our Lord. If God, under the circumstances,
wanted this act of cruelty and inhumanity and injustice to be perpetrated,
then ^e his character is the character of deity who desired that Judas and
Caiphas and Pilate should act the way they did.

Let me state plainly ^a ~~the~~ conviction which I hold: It is never the will
of God [^] intentional, circumstantial or ultimate [^] that an individual ~~will~~
follow a way which ~~is~~ ^{the} ~~is~~ ^{of the eternal} more morally wrong in his sight. Man in his ignorance
and ~~in his~~ ^{his} sinfulness ^{commit} continues to ~~do~~ moral wrongs, but never because God
wants him to live this way. In seeking guidance as to the circumstantial
will of God, let us hold resolutely to the conviction that God is holy and
righteous altogether, and never desires one of his children to do ^{anything} ~~something~~
^{divine wisdom views as} ~~which is~~ ^{pronounces} ~~ethically~~ ^{ethically} morally wrong. ~~this~~ ^{ethically}

Jesus was not thrust into a situation where his only choice was between a
lesser and a greater evil. His Father knew the right course - ^{a way of lesser evil -} ~~not an evil way -~~
for him to take, and was able to reveal it to him. ^{Our Lord} ~~He~~ [^] did the will of God, and
was crucified, not because it was the circumstantial will of God that he be
thus executed, but in spite of everything that divine wisdom and divine power
could do to prevent this ^{from being} ~~crime~~ ^{his blind and rebellious} ~~perpetrated by~~ ^{children} ~~evil~~ children.

Committed

Let me inquire: in what sense ~~was~~^s it the will of God that Jesus be betrayed and crucified? In the sense that, under the circumstances, God wanted this to happen?

Dr. Leslie D. Weatherhead published in wartime a widely read book with the title, The Will of God. Many references to this little volume in conversations, ~~and~~ group discussions and public forums have convinced me that it has been confusing, as well as helpful, to many readers. He speaks of God's intentional will, his circumstantial will, and his ultimate will. He illustrated this whose intentional will was his son be division by reference to a father ~~who wanted his son to be an architect~~ an architect, but when broke out it was the father's circumstantial will that he a soldier. This illustration may also illustrate the intentional and the circumstantial will ^{waging} of God for the son if war, under the circumstances, is the method of dealing with evil which God wanted ~~wanted~~ used. If the waging of war is what God sometimes desires, then it can properly be regarded as his circumstantial will. But if there is irreconcilable conflict between the way of war and the way of God revealed will of God in the Prince of Peace, then in wartime it is the circumstantial that the son serve as a conscientious objector or that he accept imprisonment rather than to repudiate the way of his Lord. It seems to me clear that the circumstantial will of God is never a denial or rejection of the holy and righteous will of God. It is unthinkable to me that God should want an individual to use a method which is the antithesis and contradiction of the way of Jesus.

I believe in prayer, as communication between the Divine spirit and the human spirit, a two-way interchange between God and man. Prayer is not for the purpose of seeking changes in God, but changes in God's opportunity. The Creator endowed man with every faculty needed in prayer, and long before an individual turns to his Maker with holy aspiration, our Father has been prompting him to return home. Out of his great love for every person everywhere, God trusts man with the use of his endowment. ^{At hereto} ~~Man~~ is sufficiently free to seek the Lord, and he possesses enough liberty to turn away from the Eternal.

Prayer is the soul's sincere desire. When aware of God, what a man wants is his prayer. Prayer is eagerness to open every faculty, to the promptings of the Divine spirit; it is responsiveness to the quickening of mind, the stirring of emotion, the making sensitive of conscience, the strengthening of high determination. Prayer is seeking help from ~~within~~ God so that man may want ~~with~~ to know and to do the will of his Father. In the school of prayer, there is just one lesson, which runs through many grades - to be the person God is endeavoring to create ~~within~~ ^{done.} your physical habitation and to do whatever God wants ~~you to do~~.

A sense of awe and the attitude of adoration change desire, ~~the~~ ^{awareness} ~~sense~~ of contrast between the Creator and the creature ^{brings} ~~makes~~ intense eagerness for completeness and holiness; and thereby enables God to do more than if ~~the~~ confronted with dullness and neglect. The ~~way~~ ^{exultation} of thanksgiving to God changes what you want; gratitude mellows the human spirit and provides God with opportunity. The cry ~~of~~ of a penitent heart for forgiveness and ~~restoration~~ restoration enables God to come to the aid of the stricken soul without taking away from him the power to do wrong. The turning of an individual to God in commitment and trust, prepares that heart ^{to receive} ~~for~~ the free gifts of God. The basis of all high prayer is the simple truth that God never misses an opportunity. When the door is opened from within, he enters and blesses that life.

The prayer of intercession is the desiring of holy changes in another person. I believe in praying for others because I know that all life is a cooperative affair. The Creator in his wisdom and ^{love} ~~righteousness~~ has chosen to divide responsibility. With integrity God does his share, he can be depended upon. But he requires help. More than a human parent, he loves a tiny infant. But if that baby is to survive ^{and grow into a noble ~~strong~~ soul,} ^{cooperation} human ~~help~~ is essential. Millions of babies starve to death, in spite of the wisdom and power and love of God - because the necessary human help ~~has~~ not been given. On every level of life, God seeks ^{working} cooperation from his children. The prayer of intercession is a high form of ^{working} ~~cooperation~~ with the Divine spirit. Holy desire for another person is right because it prompted by loving concern. In ways quite beyond our immature explanations, intercession provides God with opportunity to do what he is ever seeking to do, perhaps in somewhat the way that proper feeding of a baby enables God to prevent death from starvation.

I cannot remember when I began to pray, as I cannot recall the first simple words that came from my lips. All my life I have believed in the efficacy of prayer. During university days, I began "the morning watch" ^{still ~~now~~} and ~~until ~~the morning~~~~ find illumination and receive strength at the beginning of the day. A simple calculation reminds me that ~~in~~ forty years there have been [^] ~~now~~ nearly fifteen thousand mornings. It must have been upward of ten thousand of these mornings that I have found joy in opening my faculties to the blessing of God. Countless times I have prayed for others, and in turn have been prayed for week after week by many friends.